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MACAULAY'S ESSAYS ON CLIVE AND HASTINGS

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EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

CHARLES ROBERT GASTON, PH.D.

EDITOR OF IRVING'S "LIFE OF GOLDSMITH"

GINN AND COMPANY

BOSTON · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · LONDON

ATLANTA · DALLAS · COLUMBUS · SAN FRANCISCO

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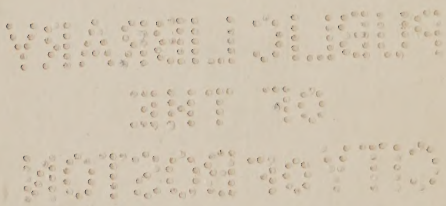

The Athenæum Press
GINN AND COMPANY · PROPRIETORS · BOSTON · U.S.A.

TO

JAMES MORGAN HART, J.U.D., L.H.D.

PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF ENGLISH IN CORNELL UNIVERSITY

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THE INTEREST

THAT HE HAS ALWAYS SHOWN IN THE

WORK OF HIS STUDENTS

PREFATORY NOTE

In the editing of these essays for school use, there is a temptation to give merely encyclopedic information whenever Macaulay makes a historical or a literary allusion. In this edition an attempt is made to avoid this perfunctory method of annotation. The editor aims to present the necessary information, but to present it in such a way that it will in every case make clear the precise allusion that seems puzzling in the writing of the essayist. Throughout the Introduction and the Notes the purpose has been constantly to emphasize the literary reading of two notable essays dealing with epochs in India. It is hoped that no student will feel dismayed by the information contained in the essays and in the annotation, but that on the contrary all readers may relish as does the editor the vigor and brilliance of the distinguished essayist's style. The editor particularly wishes to thank the publishers for their painstaking coöperation in the production of the maps which have been inserted in this edition. Maps are an invaluable aid to any kind of reading of a historical narrative.

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INTRODUCTION

LIFE OF MACAULAY (1800–1859)

Probably no writer in any language has given so much historical and literary information and misinformation in so entertaining a style to so many persons as Thomas Babington Macaulay. He had a positive passion for facts. Nevertheless, in his thirty-four years as a writer he exhibited such an interesting and brilliant antithetical style that he sometimes gave misinformation, unconsciously, in his desire to say something strongly and entertainingly. Very likely he gathered more information before he was twenty-five years old than he did in the last thirty-four years. At any rate, it proves convenient in studying the events of his busy, happy, and mostly prosperous life to consider them in two periods: the period of preparation, from 1800 to 1825; and the period of productiveness, from 1825 to 1859. During the second half of the second period he wrote his essays on Clive and Hastings — reviews of the lives of men prominent in Indian affairs.

Macaulay's youth was singularly fortunate. His father, Zachary Macaulay, was of good Scotch descent. He is buried in Westminster, along with several other noted English advocates of the abolition of slavery. Except for Macaulay there is scarcely an Englishman of fame buried in Westminster whose father is also buried there. The place of Thomas B. Macaulay's birth was Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, England. He was the eldest of eight children. In 1803 the family moved to Clapham, near London, where they continued to reside for eighteen years. Tom's mother thought that he was a wonderful

child, but, in spite of his superior powers of language, she would not permit people to tell him that he was unusually bright for one so young. When only three he enjoyed reading serious books or sitting by the fire conversing with his elders. When only four he had a copious vocabulary. A cup of coffee was spilled on him one day. Solicitously the hostess inquired whether it hurt. He replied, "Thank you, madam, the agony is abated." Tom would often listen, with the consent of his father, to the talk that went on in the Macaulay home when prominent members of Parliament and abolitionists met to discuss ways of advancing the cause of abolition of slavery in the West Indies. As a mere boy Tom wrote an article which he desired should be translated into an Indian dialect so as to persuade the people of Travancore to embrace the Christian religion. By the time he was twelve he had memorized a large part of Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel" and "Marmion," Milton's "Paradise Lost," and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," besides a good deal of the Bible, for he had a wonderful knack of taking in pages at a glance and remembering the contents and the very language for all time. A letter written by him at the age of thirteen shows better than anything else the kind of boy he was, and by implication the kind of parents he had:

Shelford, August 14, 1813

My dear Mamma:

I must confess that I have been a little disappointed at not receiving a letter from home to-day. I hope, however, for one to-morrow. My spirits are far more depressed by leaving home than they were last half year. Everything brings home to my recollection. Everything I read, or see, or hear brings it to my mind. You told me I should be happy when I once came here, but not an hour passes in which I do not shed tears at thinking of home. Every hope, however unlikely to be realized, affords me some small consolation. The morning on which I went you told me that possibly I might come home before the holidays. If you can confirm that hope, believe me when I assure you there is nothing which I would not

give for one instant's sight of home. Tell me in your next, expressly, if you can, whether or no there is any likelihood of my coming home before the holidays. If I could gain papa's leave, I should select my birthday, October 25, as the time which I should wish to spend at that home which absence renders still dearer to me. I think I see you sitting by papa just after his dinner, reading my letter, and turning to him with an inquisitive glance at the end of the paragraph. I think, too, that I see his expressive shake of the head at it. Oh may I be mistaken! You cannot conceive what an alteration a favorable answer would produce on me. If your approbation of my request depends upon my advancing in study, I will work like a cart horse. If you should refuse it, you will deprive me of the most pleasing illusion which I ever experienced in my life. Pray do not fail to write speedily.

Your dutiful and affectionate son,
T. B. Macaulay

After attendance at private school he entered Trinity College, Cambridge University, in 1818. Here he was a brilliant scholar and debater, averse only to the study of mathematics. He won prizes for Latin declamation and for two English poems, "Pompeii," 1819, and "Evening," 1821. The family moved to London in 1821. That year Macaulay won a scholarship at the university. In 1822 he received the bachelor's degree. In 1823 it became his good fortune to have to do something for his family; he took private pupils to make up as far as he could for his father's business reverses. He was made Fellow of Trinity in 1824. While he was at college he wrote "The Battle of Ivry" and other ballads for Knight's *Quarterly Magazine*, which was circulated mostly at Cambridge and Eton. At the age of twenty-five he took the master's degree. Now, having been remarkably industrious during his youth, he had richer stores of information than most persons have at the end of their lives.

The years when Macaulay made for himself a career in literature and in politics were, in spite of one or two trying situations,

as prosperous and active as could well be imagined. No attempt, however, will be made to do more than relate, in strict chronological order, the principal definite events of his public literary and political career. It is strongly urged that the student find for himself more about these years in one of the most readable biographies ever written, "The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay," by his nephew, George Otto Trevelyan.

The same year in which Macaulay received the master's degree from Cambridge he wrote the famous essay on Milton, the second of a series of forty essays that he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* in the years from January, 1825, to October, 1844. At the age of twenty-six he became a barrister in Lincoln's Inn, London. Caring more for politics and literature than for law, he spent more time listening to speeches in the House of Commons, making Whig speeches at political meetings, and writing for the magazines than he spent in the practice of the law. Through the aid of a political opponent, Lord Lyndhurst, he became Commissioner in Bankruptcy in 1828. Two years later, through the assistance of Lord Lansdowne, who had been greatly interested by the essay on Mill, Macaulay became a member of Parliament for Calne. His Reform Bill speeches, though uttered in a rapid, somewhat monotonous delivery, gained for him a reputation for eloquence, and when printed were found to be convincing in thought. The literary and political celebrities, whether belonging to his own party, the Whigs, or to the opposing party, praised the vigorous new member. Yet when his commissionership and his college fellowship both came to an end in 1832, he had to pawn his college gold medals, notwithstanding his very considerable and growing reputation; it is said that at this time he scarcely knew where to turn for a morsel of bread.

However, the financial trouble soon passed away, for he was made a commissioner of the Board of Control of Indian affairs, and a year later became secretary of the board. In Parliament

he was now representing the manufacturing city of Leeds. His speech in 1833 on the bill for the renewal of the charter of the East India Company was considered a remarkable effort. In February, 1834, he sailed for India at a salary of £10,000 a year for five years as law member of the Supreme Council of India. One reason why he consented to go to India was that, though he had no desire whatever for riches, he did wish a reasonable income for life, and the Indian position promised him such an income if he would be careful to save from his large salary. His greatest work for the distant empire was done as president of a commission for composing a criminal code for India. This code was published in 1837, but did not become law till 1860. Another Indian service of permanent value was his work as president of a committee which founded the educational system of India.

He returned to England in 1838. Soon after his return, he was on the point of fighting a duel with a man whose book he had mercilessly criticized in the *Edinburgh Review*, but the duel was averted by friends of the parties. In the autumn of 1838 he traveled in Italy.

In March, 1839, he began his "History of England," which is more fascinating than most novels (Macaulay read thousands of novels). He did not accomplish much at first on the History, because the people of Edinburgh invited him to stand for a seat in Parliament as their representative. He was elected in 1839 and continued to represent Edinburgh for eight years. Soon after his election he became Secretary of War, holding the position for two years. His essay on Clive appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in January, 1840, and his Hastings in October, 1841. In 1842 he was instrumental in the passage of a copyright law giving to authors sole ownership of their writings for forty-two years after publication. He published his "Lays of Ancient Rome" in 1842. The next year, since publishers were bringing out his essays without paying him

anything for them, he felt obliged to publish a complete copyrighted edition. He became paymaster-general in 1846. The following year, because of his active support of the toleration acts and his general air of independence, he lost his Edinburgh seat in the House and retired from political life to finish his "History of England."

Volumes I and II of the History appeared in 1848. Their author was installed Lord Rector of Glasgow University in 1849. He declined a Cambridge professorship of modern history and a cabinet position. In 1852, owing to the tremendous amount of work that he had done in so short a time, his health broke down; but he was that year urged to represent Edinburgh again in Parliament, and did so. His last speech in the House was made in July, 1853. He prepared civil-service rules and examinations for India in 1854. He published Volumes III and IV of his History in 1855, receiving in the next year £20,000 in royalties. For his articles on Goldsmith and Johnson, contributed in 1856 to the Encyclopædia Britannica, he refused any payment, saying that these were labors of love and that he needed for his own wants, he having never married, no more money than he had. On account of ill health he gave up his seat in Parliament in 1856. Now, when he was nearing the end of his life, he took up his residence in Holly Lodge, near Kensington Palace, London. In 1857 he was made Baron Macaulay of Rothley, but rarely took his seat in the House of Lords. That year, too, he was made high steward of the borough of Cambridge. He kept working on his History till his death, December 28, 1859, at Holly Lodge. He was buried in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey.

In looking back over this biography a reader cannot fail to be astonished at the immense amount of work that Macaulay was able to do. His literary activity, as the greatest essayist of his time in his particular field of biography, and as the most popular writer after Scott, would alone seem to be enough for

a busy life of an extraordinary man. His work in Parliament as a speaker of unquestioned oratorical power and keen intellectual grasp of great questions would alone make enough activity for all but the most exceptional members. His constructive, permanently effective work in advancing important reforms in India and in England would fill up more than threescore years of activity for most men. But Macaulay carried on all these lines of activity without seeming to be worried by any of them, and had time besides for a social life as a splendid talker in the homes of the wits of the age and as an affectionate uncle in his sister's home. There is no English writer who stands in the same class with Macaulay as the embodiment of energy; no writer compares with him in the practical accomplishment of the things that his keen, restless mind set before him to accomplish. The keynote of his life was hard work with a cheerful outlook. Only his History remains incomplete.

QUESTIONS

1. What have you learned in this book or elsewhere regarding the domestic life of Macaulay?

2. What do you consider to be the use of knowing anything about the life of an author whose book you have read or are reading?

3. What did the world do for Macaulay?

4. What did he do for the world?

5. What kind of preparation did he have for his life work?

6. What official positions did he hold?

7. What kinds of writing did he do?

8. What writings of his have you read? Why have you read so many? Why have you not read more?

9. In exactly one hundred words write a biography of Macaulay. Imagine that you are spending a certain amount of money (words) and see how you can spend your money to get the best returns for it. If you look at such a task as this in the right light you will soon come to see the value of words and the necessity for proportion.

10. From Macaulay's schoolboy letter to his mother what can you infer concerning the temper and character of his parents?

OBJECT OF THE READING

The essays on Clive and Hastings are to be read not as history but as literature. This makes a great deal of difference to the student approaching the reading of the two essays for the first time. Bewilderment will be the state of the ordinary reader who plunges into even the first paragraph of Clive with the idea of understanding offhand every obscure historical allusion. That cannot be hoped for from school readers of to-day. Not "every schoolboy" does know the things that Macaulay thinks the schoolboy knows. In the matter of the history presented in these two essays the best that the average reader can do is to get a fairly good grip on the essential facts in the career of Robert Clive which made him recognized by historians as the British empire builder in India, and of the essential facts in the career of Warren Hastings which made him the great administrator of Indian affairs. If, besides the obvious large facts in the lives of these two men, the reader can understand some of the picturesque details and something of the general historical events involved, he may consider that he has enough of the information in the case to go on with the main purpose of the reading, which is to secure a grip on the method of literary presentation of historical facts as illustrated by Macaulay. Macaulay does not aim so much to instruct as to interest and entertain. It is his way of writing with which the reader of the essays in a course in literature is most concerned.

The pupil, then, need not feel discouraged if parts of the essays make him sleepy. It might be a good idea first to hurry through the essays, skimming the cream of lively narrative, e.g. Clive's defense of Arcot and his contest for a seat in Parliament. It would be advisable, after such a hurried glance through the pages, to take a second look a little more carefully. The first view would show the most interesting narrative parts; the second would make the main divisions clear and would

take in as many details as it might seem advisable to try to absorb in the time at the disposal of the reader. A final general view would clinch the main facts in the careers of the two Englishmen most concerned in the evolution of English control in India, and would give a final impression of the author's characteristic manner of writing as illustrated in these essays.

PLACE OF THE ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

The Clive and Hastings represent Macaulay's historical as opposed to his literary essays. By common consent Macaulay is recognized as having done better work in his historical than in his literary essays, for, though he had an eye for the picturesque and could tell graphically the outward events of a man's life or of a national epoch, he lacked the subtlety of understanding and fineness of feeling necessary to supreme success in discussing the essence of a spiritually minded man's writings or in penetrating to the core of a period of national literature. Yet because of this very limitation of his he was able better to please his contemporaries than any other nonimaginative writer of the time. His series of fascinating review articles made an era in the history of literature.

It was this series that alone was able to rival in popularity in the Victorian age the immense output of novels produced by Eliot, Dickens, and Thackeray, to mention only a few of the popular novelists of the time. Macaulay's essays, particularly his historical essays, put human interest consistently to the front. Macaulay and the contemporary writers of essays — Carlyle, for instance — thought that history should deal with "human beings of passions, caprices, moods, loves and hates, dwelling in a world of interesting costumes, arms, architecture, ideas and beliefs" (Lang). Consequently the historical writing of these men, whether in the form of long histories or shorter

essays, was as entertaining as instructive. It was literature because it was done with art and imbued with a powerful personality. The historical essays of Macaulay belong, then, in the front rank of the entertaining and instructive essays produced in the early Victorian age of English literature.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF LORD CLIVE

Sir William Hunter in "A Brief History of Indian Peoples" strikingly characterizes the work of Lord Clive by saying that from Clive's victory at Plassey dates the English supremacy in India, and from his second administration as governor date the English efforts at good government in India. This authoritative view of the achievements of Clive corresponds well with the estimate in Macaulay's essay. In fact, the essay of Macaulay is to be trusted in the main as giving a fair and accurate account of the life of Clive. Yet, since Macaulay inserts few dates, a succinct narrative of the principal events of Lord Clive's life may assist the reader to follow the essay.

Robert Clive, born September 29, 1725, near Market-Drayton in Shropshire, England, was the eldest of the thirteen children of an impoverished country squire. In school he was constantly in trouble because of his high temper and mischievous spirit. In 1743 he was offered a clerkship in the East India service. The next year, after an unusually long voyage, during which he learned Portuguese, he reached Madras penniless. Having small pay and no friends, he soon tried to kill himself. In 1746 he was taken prisoner by Labourdonnais, but escaped to Fort St. David. Entering the military service as ensign, in 1747, he next year distinguished himself by his bravery at the unsuccessful siege of Pondicherry. He became lieutenant under Major Stringer Lawrence. Then he was promoted to be commissariat officer. He was twice in charge of reënforcements sent to Trichinopoly, and in 1750 became captain, in charge of several

hundred men. He captured Arcot, capital of the Carnatic, in 1751. Then with only eighty European soldiers and fewer than two hundred native soldiers he successfully defended Arcot while it was besieged by seven thousand troops from September 23 to November 14, 1751. Taking the offensive, he now defeated the French and natives in several engagements, and helped Major Lawrence capture Trichinopoly. He married, in 1752, Margaret Maskelyne. In poor health he returned to England, 1753. There he paid his father's debts, and was elected to Parliament but was not seated.

In 1755 he was again in Bombay, having now been appointed lieutenant colonel. He captured the pirate stronghold, Gheriah, in 1756. He took charge of Fort St. David just before the Calcutta Black Hole massacre, and set out at once to avenge the atrocity. He captured Calcutta in 1757, forcing the native ruler responsible for the massacre, Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal, to sue for peace. Next he captured Chandernagore. When he discovered treacherous intentions in the Nabob, he abetted a conspiracy by which the Nabob's general, Meer Jaffier, was to become Nabob. Omichund, a Hindoo go-between who threatened to betray the conspiracy, Clive tricked by means of two treaties, one genuine, the other false. Thus gaining time, he thoroughly defeated the Nabob at the battle of Plassey, June, 1757. After this he made Meer Jaffier Nabob, who soon permitted Surajah Dowlah to be put to death. From Meer Jaffier Clive accepted a large present and the quitrent of the Company's territory. As soon as the news of the victory of Plassey reached the directors, they made Clive Governor of Bengal, 1758. In 1759 he defeated a Dutch armament that had entered the Hoogley to found a rival colony. He returned to England in 1760. A rich man, he was promptly raised to the Irish peerage as Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey. In 1764 he was chosen Knight of the Bath. Great abuses having arisen in the Indian administration, Lord Clive was sent out to make reforms.

He reached Bengal as Governor for the second time, May, 1765. His reforms in both the civil and the military service were far-reaching and drastic. By pensioning the Nabob of Bengal he secured to the Company the supreme power in the province. Out of a legacy from Meer Jaffier he established a fund for invalid officers of the Company. With health gone, he returned to England in 1767. There was a parliamentary inquiry into his acts, 1772–1773, marked by much bitterness but ending only in a gentle censure. Though honored by being installed as Knight of the Bath and Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire, Clive became sick and gloomy, a victim of opium. He committed suicide, November, 1774.

The best accounts of his life and services to England will be found in the following books, at least one of which may be accessible to the reader who desires more detailed information: Malcolm, "Life of Robert, Lord Clive" (3 vols., London, 1836), the book on which Macaulay based his review article; Malleson, "Founders of the Indian Empire: Lord Clive" (London, 1882); Mill, "History of British India," Vol. III; Orme, "History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745" (London, 1803).

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF WARREN HASTINGS

In Sichel's biography of Richard B. Sheridan, published in 1909, this summarizing sentence follows a long discussion of the speeches which Sheridan made against Hastings during the impeachment trial: "Warren Hastings was a pioneer of empire, a great, ruling Englishman, and he did his duty according to his lights." It is worth while to try to sift out the conflicting statements concerning the deeds of this great pioneer of empire and see in brief just what he did during his long life. Born in Oxfordshire, December 6, 1732, he lived as a child with his grandfather in the rectory of Daylesford House, near Adlestrop, a few miles

northwest of Oxford. His father's elder brother, Howard, sent him to school in 1740 to Newington Butts and in 1742 to Westminster School. Here he stood first in a competition for a scholarship, Elijah Impey standing three places below him, and here he continued his studies till 1748. At the death of his uncle he was sent to a private tutor's to prepare for the East Indian civil service. In October, 1750, he arrived at Calcutta. Serving in Calcutta as a clerk for the Company, he was promoted to be its representative at Cossimbazar. Here he was taken prisoner by the Nabob of Bengal and sent to Moorshedabad. His ability to speak the Persian and Hindostanee languages was a valuable aid to him at this time in his negotiations with the native princes. In 1757 he served as a soldier with Clive. He was agent for the Company at Moorshedabad, 1757–1760, and member of the Council at Calcutta, 1761–1764. He was dispatched on an important mission to Patna in 1762. Moderately rich, he returned to England, 1764. By the evidence he gave on Indian affairs, 1766, before a parliamentary committee, he made something of a stir in England. During his visit to his native land he wasted his money.

In 1769 he returned to India as second in council at Madras. On the voyage out he fell in love with Baroness Imhoff. He became governor of Bengal, 1772, with residence at Calcutta. His chief work at this time was the change he accomplished in the financial and judicial system of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, bringing these provinces closely under the direction of the Company. In 1773, in accordance with a treaty made nine years before, he assisted Sujah Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, against the Rohillas. He largely suppressed wandering bands of robbers.

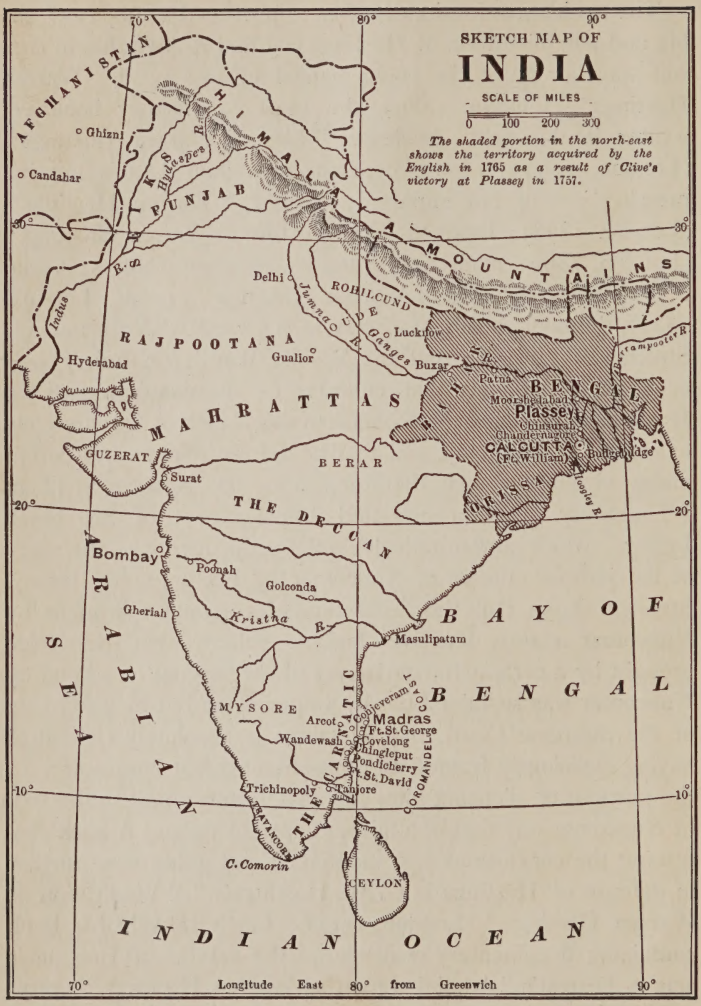
The Regulating Act of 1773 made Hastings Governor-General. As such he was opposed by a majority of the Council, but in the end he always had his way. He was accused by Nuncomar of having taken a bribe. He in turn accused Nuncomar of conspiracy and sent a conditional resignation to the

Company. Before the case of Nuncomar was taken up, that high-caste Brahmin was hanged for forgery, 1775, on a charge brought by an obscure native, the case being decided by Supreme Court Justice Elijah Impey. Hastings sold the privilege of the opium trade for a term of years, and thus increased the public revenues. Having the support of the Supreme Court, 1777, he continued as Governor in spite of the acceptance in London of his tentatively offered resignation. He was soon vindicated by the Court of Proprietors. He married the Baroness Imhoff, whose reputation Macaulay unjustly slurs. He checked the rising power of the Mahrattas. In a duel in 1780 he wounded Francis, and thus became untrammeled by the bitter opposition of this fellow member of council. He drove Hyder Ali from the Carnatic and attacked the French settlements. He heavily fined Cheyte Sing of Benares in 1781. He is charged with having been a party to the imprisonment of the Begums of Oude and with having mercilessly stripped them of their land and wealth. He founded the learned Asiatic Society, 1784, and returned to England, 1785.

Triumphant in nearly every act of his in India, he was buffeted about in England for the next ten years. The House of Commons passed a vote of censure, 1786, for his fining Cheyte Sing so heavily. He was impeached, 1787, on the charge of corruption and cruelty in his Indian administration. The trial lasted from 1788 to 1795. Though he was acquitted, he had to spend £70,000 in the conduct of his defense. This sum was made up to him, however, by the Company.

He lived in retirement at Daylesford, 1795–1818, receiving a few home honors in his old age — membership in the Privy Council, a doctor's degree from Oxford, public presentation to the allied sovereigns by the Prince Regent in London, and respectful reception by the House of Commons standing with bared heads. He died in 1818 and is honored by a bust in Westminster Abbey.

The reader who desires further to pursue the subject of the life and administration of Hastings will find it advisable to consult some or all of the books named below: Lyall, "Warren Hastings" (London, 1889), the most satisfactory book yet written in this field; Malleson, "Life of Warren Hastings" (London, 1894), a more detailed book than Lyall's but impressing one as not impartial; Trotter, "Warren Hastings" (London, 1878); Lawson, "Private Life of Warren Hastings" (London, 1895), made interesting by its many pictures; Gleig, "Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings" (3 vols., London, 1841), the book which Macaulay took as excuse for his essay; Strachey, "Hastings and the Rohilla War" (Oxford, 1892), in which it is shown that, contrary to Macaulay's assertions, Hastings did not sell the Rohillas to the Nabob of Oude merely to enrich the Company, and that he did not tolerate nor permit undue violence against the Rohillas by the Nabob; Stephen, "The Story of Nuncomar and Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey," which authoritatively and finally disproves the story of the judicial murder of Nuncomar by Hastings and Impey. Stephen shows that the accusation of corruption brought by Nuncomar against Hastings had no validity, that the charge brought by a certain Indian lawyer of the forging of a bond by Nuncomar was sustained not by Impey alone but by a full vote of the Supreme Court, that Hastings is absolutely cleared of having maliciously framed an accusation against Nuncomar for the purpose of silencing him, and that Impey's part in the trial of Nuncomar was that of a fair and upright judge. A book confirming the conclusions just mentioned and going even further in defense of Hastings is G. W. Hastings's "A Vindication of Warren Hastings" (London, 1909). Lastly, a valuable book containing documentary evidence on the subject of Hastings's acts is Forrest's "Administration of Warren Hastings," 1772–1785 (Calcutta, 1892).


SKETCH MAP OF
INDIA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
The shaded portion in the north-east shows the territory acquired by the English in 1765 as a result of Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757.
AFGHANISTAN
Ghizni
Candahar
Hydaspes R.
PUNJAB
HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS
Indus R.
Delhi
Jumna R.
ROHILCUND
Ganges R.
Lucknow
Buxar
RAJPOOTANA
Gualior
Hyderabad
MAHRATTAS
GUZERAT
Surat
BERAR
THE DECCAN
Bombay
Poonah
Golconda
Gheriah
Kristna R.
Masulipatam
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
MYSORE
Arcoot
Madras
Ft. St. George
Wandewash
Covelong
Chingleput
Pondicherry
St. David
Tanjore
Trichinopoly
COROMANDEL COAST
MALABAR COAST
C. Comorin
CEYLON
INDIAN OCEAN
Patna
BENGAL
Moorshedabad
Plassey
Chinsurah
Chandernagore
CALCUTTA
Fr. William
Hooghly R.
Brahmapooter R.
Ganges R.
ORISSA
Mahanadi R.
70°
80°
90°
30°
20°
10°
Longitude East from Greenwich

LORD CLIVE

We have always thought it strange that, while the history of the Spanish empire in America is familiarly known to all the nations of Europe, the great actions of our countrymen in the East should, even among ourselves, excite little interest. Every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma, and who strangled Atahualpa; but we doubt whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Sujah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindoo or a Mussulman. Yet the victories of Cortes were gained over savages who had no letters, who were ignorant of the use of metals, who had not broken in a single animal to labor, who wielded no better weapons than those which could be made out of sticks, flints, and fishbones, who regarded a horse soldier as a monster, half man and half beast, who took a harquebusier for a sorcerer, able to scatter the thunder and lightning of the skies. The people of India, when we subdued them, were ten times as numerous as the Americans whom the Spaniards vanquished, and were at the same time quite as highly civilized as the victorious Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo, and buildings more beautiful and costly than the cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, viceroys whose splendor far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astonished the Great Captain. It might have been expected that every

Englishman who takes any interest in any part of history would be curious to know how a handful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated, in the course of a few years, one of the greatest empires in the world. Yet, unless we greatly err, this subject is, to most readers, not only insipid but positively distasteful.

Perhaps the fault lies partly with the historians. Mr. Mill's book, though it has undoubtedly great and rare merit, is not sufficiently animated and picturesque to attract those who read for amusement. Orme, inferior to no English historian in style and power of painting, is minute even to tediousness. In one volume he allots, on an average, a closely printed quarto page to the events of every forty-eight hours. The consequence is that his narrative, though one of the most authentic and one of the most finely written in our language, has never been very popular, and is now scarcely ever read.

We fear that the volumes before us will not much attract those readers whom Orme and Mill have repelled. The materials placed at the disposal of Sir John Malcolm by the late Lord Powis were indeed of great value. But we cannot say that they have been very skillfully worked up. It would, however, be unjust to criticise with severity a work which, if the author had lived to complete and revise it, would probably have been improved by condensation and by a better arrangement. We are more disposed to perform the pleasing duty of expressing our gratitude to the noble family to which the public owes so much useful and curious information.

The effect of the book, even when we make the largest allowance for the partiality of those who have furnished and of those who have digested the materials, is, on the whole, greatly to raise the character of Lord Clive. We are far indeed from sympathizing with Sir John Malcolm, whose love passes the love of biographers, and who can see nothing but wisdom and justice in the actions of his idol. But we are at least equally

far from concurring in the severe judgment of Mr. Mill, who seems to us to show less discrimination in his account of Clive than in any other part of his valuable work. Clive, like most men who are born with strong passions and tried by strong temptations, committed great faults. But every person who takes a fair and enlightened view of his whole career must admit that our island, so fertile in heroes and statesmen, has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great either in arms or in council.

The Clives had been settled, ever since the twelfth century, on an estate of no great value, near Market-Drayton, in Shropshire. In the reign of George the First this moderate but ancient inheritance was possessed by Mr. Richard Clive, who seems to have been a plain man of no great tact or capacity. He had been bred to the law, and divided his time between professional business and the avocations of a small proprietor. He married a lady from Manchester, of the name of Gaskill, and became the father of a very numerous family. His eldest son, Robert, the founder of the British empire in India, was born at the old seat of his ancestors on the twenty-ninth of September, 1725.

Some lineaments of the character of the man were early discerned in the child. There remain letters written by his relations when he was in his seventh year; and from these letters it appears that even at that early age his strong will and his fiery passions, sustained by a constitutional intrepidity which sometimes seemed hardly compatible with soundness of mind, had begun to cause great uneasiness to his family. "Fighting," says one of his uncles, "to which he is out of measure addicted, gives his temper such a fierceness and imperiousness, that he flies out on every trifling occasion." The old people of the neighborhood still remember to have heard from their parents how Bob Clive climbed to the top of the lofty steeple of Market-Drayton, and with what terror the

inhabitants saw him seated on a stone spout near the summit. They also relate how he formed all the idle lads of the town into a kind of predatory army, and compelled the shopkeepers to submit to a tribute of apples and halfpence, in consideration of which he guaranteed the security of their windows. He was sent from school to school, making very little progress in his learning, and gaining for himself everywhere the character of an exceedingly naughty boy. One of his masters, it is said, was sagacious enough to prophesy that the idle lad would make a great figure in the world. But the general opinion seems to have been that poor Robert was a dunce, if not a reprobate. His family expected nothing good from such slender parts and such a headstrong temper. It is not strange, therefore, that they gladly accepted for him, when he was in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the East India Company, and shipped him off to make a fortune or to die of a fever at Madras.

Far different were the prospects of Clive from those of the youths whom the East India College now annually sends to the Presidencies of our Asiatic empire. The Company was then purely a trading corporation. Its territory consisted of a few square miles, for which rent was paid to the native governments. Its troops were scarcely numerous enough to man the batteries of three or four ill-constructed forts, which had been erected for the protection of the warehouses. The natives, who composed a considerable part of these little garrisons, had not yet been trained in the discipline of Europe, and were armed, some with swords and shields, some with bows and arrows. The business of the servant of the Company was not, as now, to conduct the judicial, financial, and diplomatic business of a great country, but to take stock, to make advances to weavers, to ship cargoes, and, above all, to keep an eye on private traders who dared to infringe the monopoly. The younger clerks were so miserably paid that they could scarcely subsist without

incurring debt; the elder enriched themselves by trading on their own account, and those who lived to rise to the top of the service often accumulated considerable fortunes.

Madras, to which Clive had been appointed, was, at this time, perhaps, the first in importance of the Company's settlements. In the preceding century Fort St. George had arisen on a barren spot beaten by a raging surf; and in the neighborhood a town, inhabited by many thousands of natives, had sprung up, as towns spring up in the East, with the rapidity of the prophet's gourd. There were already in the suburbs many white villas, each surrounded by its garden, whither the wealthy agents of the Company retired, after the labors of the desk and the warehouse, to enjoy the cool breeze which springs up at sunset from the Bay of Bengal. The habits of these mercantile grandees appear to have been more profuse, luxurious, and ostentatious than those of the high judicial and political functionaries who have succeeded them. But comfort was far less understood. Many devices which now mitigate the heat of the climate, preserve health, and prolong life were unknown. There was far less intercourse with Europe than at present. The voyage by the Cape, which in our time has often been performed within three months, was then very seldom accomplished in six, and was sometimes protracted to more than a year. Consequently the Anglo-Indian was then much more estranged from his country, much more addicted to Oriental usages, and much less fitted to mix in society after his return to Europe than the Anglo-Indian of the present day.

Within the fort and its precincts the English governors exercised, by permission of the native rulers, an extensive authority, such as every great Indian landowner exercised within his own domain. But they had never dreamed of claiming independent power. The surrounding country was governed by the Nabob of the Carnatic, a deputy of the Viceroy of the Deccan, commonly called the Nizam, who was himself only a deputy of the

mighty prince designated by our ancestors as the Great Mogul. Those names, once so august and formidable, still remain. There is still a Nabob of the Carnatic, who lives on a pension allowed to him by the English out of the revenues of the province which his ancestors ruled. There is still a Nizam, whose capital is overawed by a British cantonment, and to whom a British resident gives, under the name of advice, commands which are not to be disputed. There is still a Mogul, who is permitted to play at holding courts and receiving petitions, but who has less power to help or hurt than the youngest civil servant of the Company.

Clive's voyage was unusually tedious even for that age. The ship remained some months at the Brazils, where the young adventurer picked up some knowledge of Portuguese and spent all his pocket money. He did not arrive in India till more than a year after he had left England. His situation at Madras was most painful. His funds were exhausted. His pay was small. He had contracted debts. He was wretchedly lodged, no small calamity in a climate which can be made tolerable to a European only by spacious and well-placed apartments. He had been furnished with letters of recommendation to a gentleman who might have assisted him; but when he landed at Fort St. George he found that this gentleman had sailed for England. The lad's shy and haughty disposition withheld him from introducing himself to strangers. He was several months in India before he became acquainted with a single family. The climate affected his health and spirits. His duties were of a kind ill suited to his ardent and daring character. He pined for his home, and in his letters to his relations expressed his feelings in language softer and more pensive than we should have expected either from the waywardness of his boyhood or from the inflexible sternness of his later years. "I have not enjoyed," says he, "one happy day since I left my native country"; and again, "I must confess, at intervals, when I think of my dear native

England, it affects me in a very particular manner. . . . If I should be so far blest as to revisit again my own country, but more especially Manchester, the center of all my wishes, all that I could hope or desire for would be presented before me in one view."

One solace he found of the most respectable kind. The Governor possessed a good library, and permitted Clive to have access to it. The young man devoted much of his leisure to reading, and acquired at this time almost all the knowledge of books that he ever possessed. As a boy he had been too idle, as a man he soon became too busy, for literary pursuits.

But neither climate nor poverty, neither study nor the sorrows of a homesick exile, could tame the desperate audacity of his spirit. He behaved to his official superiors as he had behaved to his schoolmasters, and was several times in danger of losing his situation. Twice, while residing in the Writers' Buildings, he attempted to destroy himself; and twice the pistol which he snapped at his own head failed to go off. This circumstance, it is said, affected him as a similar escape affected Wallenstein. After satisfying himself that the pistol was really well loaded, he burst forth into an exclamation that surely he was reserved for something great.

About this time an event which at first seemed likely to destroy all his hopes in life suddenly opened before him a new path to eminence. Europe had been, during some years, distracted by the war of the Austrian succession. George the Second was the steady ally of Maria Theresa. The house of Bourbon took the opposite side. Though England was even then the first of maritime powers, she was not, as she has since become, more than a match on the sea for all the nations of the world together; and she found it difficult to maintain a contest against the united navies of France and Spain. In the eastern seas France obtained the ascendancy. Labourdonnais, governor of Mauritius, a man of eminent talents and virtues, conducted

an expedition to the continent of India in spite of the opposition of the British fleet, landed, assembled an army, appeared before Madras, and compelled the town and fort to capitulate. The keys were delivered up; the French colors were displayed on Fort St. George; and the contents of the Company's warehouses were seized as prize of war by the conquerors. It was stipulated by the capitulation that the English inhabitants should be prisoners of war on parole, and that the town should remain in the hands of the French till it should be ransomed. Labourdonnais pledged his honor that only a moderate ransom should be required.

But the success of Labourdonnais had awakened the jealousy of his countryman, Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. Dupleix, moreover, had already begun to revolve gigantic schemes, with which the restoration of Madras to the English was by no means compatible. He declared that Labourdonnais had gone beyond his powers; that conquests made by the French arms on the continent of India were at the disposal of the governor of Pondicherry alone; and that Madras should be razed to the ground. Labourdonnais was compelled to yield. The anger which the breach of the capitulation excited among the English was increased by the ungenerous manner in which Dupleix treated the principal servants of the Company. The Governor and several of the first gentlemen of Fort St. George were carried under a guard to Pondicherry, and conducted through the town in a triumphal procession under the eyes of fifty thousand spectators. It was with reason thought that this gross violation of public faith absolved the inhabitants of Madras from the engagements into which they had entered with Labourdonnais. Clive fled from the town by night in the disguise of a Mussulman, and took refuge at Fort St. David, one of the small English settlements subordinate to Madras.

The circumstances in which he was now placed naturally led him to adopt a profession better suited to his restless and

intrepid spirit than the business of examining packages and casting accounts. He solicited and obtained an ensign's commission in the service of the Company, and at twenty-one entered on his military career. His personal courage, of which he had, while still a writer, given signal proof by a desperate duel with a military bully who was the terror of Fort St. David, speedily made him conspicuous even among hundreds of brave men. He soon began to show in his new calling other qualities which had not before been discerned in him: judgment, sagacity, deference to legitimate authority. He distinguished himself highly in several operations against the French, and was particularly noticed by Major Lawrence, who was then considered as the ablest British officer in India.

Clive had been only a few months in the army when intelligence arrived that peace had been concluded between Great Britain and France. Dupleix was in consequence compelled to restore Madras to the English Company, and the young ensign was at liberty to resume his former business. He did indeed return for a short time to his desk. He again quitted it in order to assist Major Lawrence in some petty hostilities with the natives, and then again returned to it. While he was thus wavering between a military and a commercial life, events took place which decided his choice. The politics of India assumed a new aspect. There was peace between the English and French Crowns, but there arose between the English and French Companies trading to the East a war most eventful and important, a war in which the prize was nothing less than the magnificent inheritance of the house of Tamerlane.

The empire which Baber and his Moguls reared in the sixteenth century was long one of the most extensive and splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a population subject to a single prince, or so large a revenue poured into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of the buildings erected by the sovereigns of Hindostan amazed even travelers

who had seen St. Peter's. The innumerable retinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne of Delhi dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles. Some of the great viceroys who held their posts by virtue of commissions from the Mogul ruled as many subjects as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of these deputies might well rank, as to extent of territory and amount of revenue, with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Elector of Saxony.

There can be little doubt that this great empire, powerful and prosperous as it appears on a superficial view, was yet, even in its best days, far worse governed than the worst governed parts of Europe now are. The administration was tainted with all the vices of Oriental despotism and with all the vices inseparable from the domination of race over race. The conflicting pretensions of the princes of the royal house produced a long series of crimes and public disasters. Ambitious lieutenants of the sovereign sometimes aspired to independence. Fierce tribes of Hindoos, impatient of a foreign yoke, frequently withheld tribute, repelled the armies of the government from the mountain fastnesses, and poured down in arms on the cultivated plains. In spite, however, of much constant maladministration, in spite of occasional convulsions which shook the whole frame of society, this great monarchy, on the whole, retained, during some generations, an outward appearance of unity, majesty, and energy. But throughout the long reign of Aurungzebe, the state, notwithstanding all that the vigor and policy of the prince could effect, was hastening to dissolution. After his death, which took place in the year 1707, the ruin was fearfully rapid. Violent shocks from without coöperated with an incurable decay which was fast proceeding within, and in a few years the empire had undergone utter decomposition.

The history of the successors of Theodosius bears no small analogy to that of the successors of Aurungzebe. But perhaps

the fall of the Carlovingians furnishes the nearest parallel to the fall of the Moguls. Charlemagne was scarcely interred when the imbecility and the disputes of his descendants began to bring contempt on themselves and destruction on their subjects. The wide dominion of the Franks was severed into a thousand pieces. Nothing more than a nominal dignity was left to the abject heirs of an illustrious name, Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple. Fierce invaders, differing from each other in race, language, and religion, flocked, as if by concert, from the farthest corners of the earth, to plunder provinces which the government could no longer defend. The pirates of the Northern Sea extended their ravages from the Elbe to the Pyrenees, and at length fixed their seat in the rich valley of the Seine. The Hungarian, in whom the trembling monks fancied that they recognized the Gog or Magog of prophecy, carried back the plunder of the cities of Lombardy to the depths of the Pannonian forests. The Saracen ruled in Sicily, desolated the fertile plains of Campania, and spread terror even to the walls of Rome. In the midst of these sufferings, a great internal change passed upon the empire. The corruption of death began to ferment into new forms of life. While the great body, as a whole, was torpid and passive, every separate member began to feel with a sense and to move with an energy all its own. Just here, in the most barren and dreary tract of European history, all feudal privileges, all modern nobility, take their source. It is to this point that we trace the power of those princes who, nominally vassals but really independent, long governed, with the titles of dukes, marquises, and counts, almost every part of the dominions which had obeyed Charlemagne.

Such or nearly such was the change which passed on the Mogul empire during the forty years which followed the death of Aurungzebe. A succession of nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bhang, fondling concubines, and listening to

buffoons. A succession of ferocious invaders descended through the western passes, to prey on the defenseless wealth of Hindostan. A Persian conqueror crossed the Indus, marched through the gates of Delhi, and bore away in triumph those treasures of which the magnificence had astounded Roe and Bernier, the Peacock Throne, on which the richest jewels of Golconda had been disposed by the most skillful hands of Europe, and the inestimable Mountain of Light, which, after many strange vicissitudes, lately shone in the bracelet of Runjeet Sing, and is now destined to adorn the hideous idol of Orissa. The Afghan soon followed to complete the work of devastation which the Persian had begun. The warlike tribes of Rajpootana threw off the Mussulman yoke. A band of mercenary soldiers occupied Rohilcund. The Seiks ruled on the Indus. The Jauts spread dismay along the Jumna. The highlands which border on the western seacoast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race, a race which was long the terror of every native power, and which, after many desperate and doubtful struggles, yielded only to the fortune and genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that this wild clan of plunderers first descended from their mountains; and soon after his death every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Many fertile viceroyalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poonah, at Gualior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettledrums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighborhood of the hyena and the tiger. Many provinces redeemed their harvests by the payment

of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious blackmail. The camp fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi. Another, at the head of his innumerable cavalry, descended year after year on the rice fields of Bengal. Even the European factors trembled for their magazines. Less than a hundred years ago it was thought necessary to fortify Calcutta against the horsemen of Berar; and the name of the Mahratta ditch still preserves the memory of the danger.

Wherever the viceroys of the Mogul retained authority, they became sovereigns. They might still acknowledge in words the superiority of the house of Tamerlane; as a Count of Flanders or a Duke of Burgundy might have acknowledged the superiority of the most helpless driveler among the later Carlovingians. They might occasionally send to their titular sovereign a complimentary present, or solicit from him a title of honor. In truth, however, they were no longer lieutenants removable at pleasure, but independent hereditary princes. In this way originated those great Mussulman houses which formerly ruled Bengal and the Carnatic, and those which still, though in a state of vassalage, exercise some of the powers of royalty at Lucknow and Hyderabad.

In what was this confusion to end? Was the strife to continue during centuries? Was it to terminate in the rise of another great monarchy? Was the Mussulman or the Mahratta to be the Lord of India? Was another Baber to descend from the mountains, and to lead the hardy tribes of Cabul and Chorasan against a wealthier and less warlike race? None of these events seemed improbable. But scarcely any man, however sagacious, would have thought it possible that a trading company, separated from India by fifteen thousand miles of sea, and possessing in India only a few acres for purposes of commerce, would, in less than a hundred years, spread its empire from Cape Comorin to the eternal snow of the Himalayas; would

compel Mahratta and Mohammedan to forget their mutual feuds in common subjection; would tame down even those wild races which had resisted the most powerful of the Moguls; and, having united under its laws a hundred millions of subjects, would carry its victorious arms far to the east of the Burrampooter, and far to the west of the Hydaspes, dictate terms of peace at the gates of Ava, and seat its vassal on the throne of Candahar.

The man who first saw that it was possible to found a European empire on the ruins of the Mogul monarchy was Dupleix. His restless, capacious, and inventive mind had formed this scheme, at a time when the ablest servants of the English Company were busied only about invoices and bills of lading. Nor had he only proposed to himself the end. He had also a just and distinct view of the means by which it was to be attained. He clearly saw that the greatest force which the princes of India could bring into the field would be no match for a small body of men trained in the discipline, and guided by the tactics, of the West. He saw also that the natives of India might, under European commanders, be formed into armies such as Saxe or Frederic would be proud to command. He was perfectly aware that the most easy and convenient way in which a European adventurer could exercise sovereignty in India was to govern the motions, and to speak through the mouth, of some glittering puppet dignified by the title of Nabob or Nizam. The arts both of war and policy, which a few years later were employed with such signal success by the English, were first understood and practiced by this ingenious and aspiring Frenchman.

The situation of India was such that scarcely any aggression could be without a pretext, either in old laws or in recent practice. All rights were in a state of utter uncertainty; and the Europeans who took part in the disputes of the natives confounded the confusion by applying to Asiatic politics the public law of the West and analogies drawn from the feudal system. If it was convenient to treat a Nabob as an independent prince,

there was an excellent plea for doing so. He was independent in fact. If it was convenient to treat him as a mere deputy of the Court of Delhi, there was no difficulty; for he was so in theory. If it was convenient to consider his office as a hereditary dignity, or as a dignity held during life only, or as a dignity held only during the good pleasure of the Mogul, arguments and precedents might be found for every one of those views. The party who had the heir of Baber in their hands represented him as the undoubted, the legitimate, the absolute sovereign, whom all subordinate authorities were bound to obey. The party against whom his name was used did not want plausible pretexts for maintaining that the empire was *de facto* dissolved, and that, though it might be decent to treat the Mogul with respect, as a venerable relic of an order of things which had passed away, it was absurd to regard him as the real master of Hindostan.

In the year 1748 died one of the most powerful of the new masters of India, the great Nizam al Mulk, Viceroy of the Deccan. His authority descended to his son, Nazir Jung. Of the provinces subject to this high functionary, the Carnatic was the wealthiest and the most extensive. It was governed by an ancient Nabob, whose name the English corrupted into Anaverdy Khan.

But there were pretenders to the Government both of the viceroyalty and of the subordinate province. Mirzapha Jung, a grandson of Nizam al Mulk, appeared as the competitor of Nazir Jung. Chunda Sahib, son-in-law of a former Nabob of the Carnatic, disputed the title of Anaverdy Khan. In the unsettled state of Indian law it was easy for both Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Sahib to make out something like a claim of right. In a society altogether disorganized they had no difficulty in finding greedy adventurers to follow their standards. They united their interests, invaded the Carnatic, and applied for assistance to the French, whose fame had been raised by

their success against the English in the recent war on the coast of Coromandel.

Nothing could have happened more pleasing to the subtle and ambitious Dupleix. To make a Nabob of the Carnatic, to make a Viceroy of the Deccan, to rule under their names the whole of southern India: this was indeed an attractive prospect. He allied himself with the pretenders, and sent four hundred French soldiers, and two thousand sepoys, disciplined after the European fashion, to the assistance of his confederates. A battle was fought. The French distinguished themselves greatly. Anaverdy Khan was defeated and slain. His son Mohammed Ali, who was afterwards well known in England as the Nabob of Arcot, and who owes to the eloquence of Burke a most unenviable immortality, fled with a scanty remnant of his army to Trichinopoly; and the conquerors became at once masters of almost every part of the Carnatic.

This was but the beginning of the greatness of Dupleix. After some months of fighting, negotiation, and intrigue, his ability and good fortune seemed to have prevailed everywhere. Nazir Jung perished by the hands of his own followers; Mirzapha Jung was master of the Deccan; and the triumph of French arms and French policy was complete. At Pondicherry all was exultation and festivity. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. The new Nizam came thither to visit his allies; and the ceremony of his installation was performed there with great pomp. Dupleix, dressed in the garb worn by Mohammedans of the highest rank, entered the town in the same palanquin with the Nizam, and, in the pageant which followed, took precedence of all the court. He was declared Governor of India from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin, a country about as large as France, with authority superior even to that of Chunda Sahib. He was intrusted with the command of seven thousand cavalry. It was announced that no mint would be suffered to exist in the Carnatic except

that at Pondicherry. A large portion of the treasures which former Viceroys of the Deccan had accumulated found its way into the coffers of the French governor. It was rumored that he had received two hundred thousand pounds sterling in money, besides many valuable jewels. In fact, there could scarcely be any limit to his gains. He now ruled thirty millions of people with almost absolute power. No honor or emolument could be obtained from the government but by his intervention. No petition unless signed by him was perused by the Nizam.

Mirzapha Jung survived his elevation only a few months. But another prince of the same house was raised to the throne by French influence, and ratified all the promises of his predecessor. Dupleix was now the greatest potentate in India. His countrymen boasted that his name was mentioned with awe even in the chambers of the palace of Delhi. The native population looked with amazement on the progress which, in the short space of four years, a European adventurer had made towards dominion in Asia. Nor was the vainglorious Frenchman content with the reality of power. He loved to display his greatness with arrogant ostentation before the eyes of his subjects and of his rivals. Near the spot where his policy had obtained its chief triumph, by the fall of Nazir Jung and the elevation of Mirzapha, he determined to erect a column, on the four sides of which four pompous inscriptions, in four languages, should proclaim his glory to all the nations of the East. Medals stamped with emblems of his successes were buried beneath the foundations of this stately pillar, and round it arose a town bearing the haughty name of Dupleix Fatihabad, which is, being interpreted, the City of the Victory of Dupleix.

The English had made some feeble and irresolute attempts to stop the rapid and brilliant career of the rival Company, and continued to recognize Mohammed Ali as Nabob of the Carnatic. But the dominions of Mohammed Ali consisted of Trichinopoly alone; and Trichinopoly was now invested by Chunda

Sahib and his French auxiliaries. To raise the siege seemed impossible. The small force which was then at Madras had no commander. Major Lawrence had returned to England, and not a single officer of established character remained in the settlement. The natives had learned to look with contempt on the mighty nation which was soon to conquer and to rule them. They had seen the French colors flying on Fort St. George; they had seen the chiefs of the English factory led in triumph through the streets of Pondicherry; they had seen the arms and counsels of Dupleix everywhere successful, while the opposition which the authorities of Madras had made to his progress had served only to expose their own weakness and to heighten his glory. At this moment the valor and genius of an obscure English youth suddenly turned the tide of fortune.

Clive was now twenty-five years old. After hesitating for some time between a military and a commercial life, he had at length been placed in a post which partook of both characters, that of commissary to the troops, with the rank of captain. The present emergency called forth all his powers. He represented to his superiors that unless some vigorous efforts were made, Trichinopoly would fall, the house of Anaverdy Khan would perish, and the French would become the real masters of the whole peninsula of India. It was absolutely necessary to strike some daring blow. If an attack were made on Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and the favorite residence of the Nabobs, it was not impossible that the siege of Trichinopoly would be raised. The heads of the English settlement, now thoroughly alarmed by the success of Dupleix, and apprehensive that, in the event of a new war between France and Great Britain, Madras would be instantly taken and destroyed, approved of Clive's plan, and intrusted the execution of it to himself. The young captain was put at the head of two hundred English soldiers, and three hundred sepoys armed and disciplined after the European fashion. Of the eight officers who commanded

this little force under him, only two had ever been in action, and four of the eight were factors of the Company, whom Clive's example had induced to offer their services. The weather was stormy; but Clive pushed on, through thunder, lightning, and rain, to the gates of Arcot. The garrison, in a panic, evacuated the fort, and the English entered it without a blow.

But Clive well knew that he should not be suffered to retain undisturbed possession of his conquest. He instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to make preparations for sustaining a siege. The garrison, which had fled at his approach, had now recovered from its dismay, and, having been swollen by large reinforcements from the neighborhood to a force of three thousand men, encamped close to the town. At dead of night Clive marched out of the fort, attacked the camp by surprise, slew great numbers, dispersed the rest, and returned to his quarters without having lost a single man.

The intelligence of these events was soon carried to Chunda Sahib, who, with his French allies, was besieging Trichinopoly. He immediately detached four thousand men from his camp, and sent them to Arcot. They were speedily joined by the remains of the force which Clive had lately scattered. They were further strengthened by two thousand men from Vellore, and by a still more important reinforcement of a hundred and fifty French soldiers whom Dupleix dispatched from Pondicherry. The whole of this army, amounting to about ten thousand men, was under the command of Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.

Rajah Sahib proceeded to invest the fort of Arcot, which seemed quite incapable of sustaining a siege. The walls were ruinous, the ditches dry, the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns, the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The little garrison had been greatly reduced by casualties. It now consisted of a hundred and twenty Europeans and two hundred sepoys. Only four officers were left; the stock of provisions

was scanty; and the commander, who had to conduct the defense under circumstances so discouraging, was a young man of five-and-twenty, who had been bred a bookkeeper.

During fifty days the siege went on. During fifty days the young captain maintained the defense, with a firmness, vigilance, and ability which would have done honor to the oldest marshal in Europe. The breach, however, increased day by day. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances any troops so scantily provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination; and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, color, language, manners, and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed anything that is related of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar or of the Old Guard of Napoleon. The sepoys came to Clive, not to complain of their scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel, they said, which was strained away from the rice, would suffice for themselves. History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind.

An attempt made by the Government of Madras to relieve the place had failed. But there was hope from another quarter. A body of six thousand Mahrattas, half soldiers, half robbers, under the command of a chief named Morari Row, had been hired to assist Mohammed Ali; but thinking the French power irresistible, and the triumph of Chunda Sahib certain, they had hitherto remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. The fame of the defense of Arcot roused them from their torpor. Morari Row declared that he had never before believed that Englishmen could fight, but that he would willingly help them since he saw that they had spirit to help themselves. Rajah Sahib learned that the Mahrattas were in motion. It was

necessary for him to be expeditious. He first tried negotiation. He offered large bribes to Clive, which were rejected with scorn. He vowed that if his proposals were not accepted, he would instantly storm the fort and put every man in it to the sword. Clive told him in reply, with characteristic haughtiness, that his father was a usurper, that his army was a rabble, and that he would do well to think twice before he sent such poltroons into a breach defended by English soldiers.

Rajah Sahib determined to storm the fort. The day was well suited to a bold military enterprise. It was the great Mohammedan festival which is sacred to the memory of Hosein, the son of Ali. The history of Islam contains nothing more touching than the event which gave rise to that solemnity. The mournful legend relates how the chief of the Fatimites, when all his brave followers had perished round him, drank his latest draft of water, and uttered his latest prayer, how the assassins carried his head in triumph, how the tyrant smote the lifeless lips with his staff, and how a few old men recollected with tears that they had seen those lips pressed to the lips of the Prophet of God. After the lapse of near twelve centuries the recurrence of this solemn season excites the fiercest and saddest emotions in the bosoms of the devout Moslems of India. They work themselves up to such agonies of rage and lamentation that some, it is said, have given up the ghost from the mere effect of mental excitement. They believe that whoever, during this festival, falls in arms against the infidels, atones by his death for all the sins of his life, and passes at once to the garden of the Houris. It was at this time that Rajah Sahib determined to assault Arcot. Stimulating drugs were employed to aid the effect of religious zeal, and the besiegers, drunk with enthusiasm, drunk with bhang, rushed furiously to the attack.

Clive had received secret intelligence of the design, had made his arrangements, and, exhausted by fatigue, had thrown himself on his bed. He was awakened by the alarm, and was instantly

at his post. The enemy advanced, driving before them elephants whose foreheads were armed with iron plates. It was expected that the gates would yield to the shock of these living battering-rams. But the huge beasts no sooner felt the English musket-balls than they turned round and rushed furiously away, trampling on the multitude which had urged them forward. A raft was launched on the water which filled one part of the ditch. Clive, perceiving that his gunners at that post did not understand their business, took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and cleared the raft in a few minutes. Where the moat was dry, the assailants mounted with great boldness; but they were received with a fire so heavy and so well directed that it soon quelled the courage even of fanaticism and of intoxication. The rear ranks of the English kept the front ranks supplied with a constant succession of loaded muskets, and every shot told on the living mass below. After three desperate onsets, the besiegers retired behind the ditch.

The struggle lasted about an hour. Four hundred of the assailants fell. The garrison lost only five or six men. The besieged passed an anxious night, looking for a renewal of the attack. But when day broke, the enemy were no more to be seen. They had retired, leaving to the English several guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

The news was received at Fort St. George with transports of joy and pride. Clive was justly regarded as a man equal to any command. Two hundred English soldiers and seven hundred sepoys were sent to him, and with this force he instantly commenced offensive operations. He took the fort of Timery, effected a junction with a division of Morari Row's army, and hastened by forced marches to attack Rajah Sahib, who was at the head of about five thousand men, of whom three hundred were French. The action was sharp, but Clive gained a complete victory. The military chest of Rajah Sahib fell into the hands of the conquerors. Six hundred sepoys who had served

in the enemy's army came over to Clive's quarters and were taken into the British service. Conjeveram surrendered without a blow. The governor of Arnee deserted Chunda Sahib and recognized the title of Mohammed Ali.

Had the entire direction of the war been intrusted to Clive, it would probably have been brought to a speedy close. But the timidity and incapacity which appeared in all the movements of the English, except where he was personally present, protracted the struggle. The Mahrattas muttered that his soldiers were of a different race from the British whom they found elsewhere. The effect of this languor was that in no long time Rajah Sahib, at the head of a considerable army, in which were four hundred French troops, appeared almost under the guns of Fort St. George and laid waste the villas and gardens of the gentlemen of the English settlement. But he was again encountered and defeated by Clive. More than a hundred of the French were killed or taken, a loss more serious than that of thousands of natives. The victorious army marched from the field of battle to Fort St. David. On the road lay the City of the Victory of Dupleix, and the stately monument which was designed to commemorate the triumphs of France in the East. Clive ordered both the city and the monument to be razed to the ground. He was induced, we believe, to take this step, not by personal or national malevolence, but by a just and profound policy. The town and its pompous name, the pillar and its vaunting inscriptions, were among the devices by which Dupleix had laid the public mind of India under a spell. This spell it was Clive's business to break. The natives had been taught that France was confessedly the first power in Europe, and that the English did not presume to dispute her supremacy. No measure could be more effectual for the removing of this delusion than the public and solemn demolition of the French trophies.

The Government of Madras, encouraged by these events, determined to send a strong detachment under Clive to

reënforce the garrison of Trichinopoly. But just at this conjuncture Major Lawrence arrived from England and assumed the chief command. From the waywardness and impatience of control which had characterized Clive, both at school and in the countinghouse, it might have been expected that he would not, after such achievements, act with zeal and good humor in a subordinate capacity. But Lawrence had early treated him with kindness; and it is bare justice to Clive to say that, proud and overbearing as he was, kindness was never thrown away upon him. He cheerfully placed himself under the orders of his old friend and exerted himself as strenuously in the second post as he could have done in the first. Lawrence well knew the value of such assistance. Though himself gifted with no intellectual faculty higher than plain good sense, he fully appreciated the powers of his brilliant coadjutor. Though he had made a methodical study of military tactics, and, like all men regularly bred to a profession, was disposed to look with disdain on interlopers, he had yet liberality enough to acknowledge that Clive was an exception to common rules. "Some people," he wrote, "are pleased to term Captain Clive fortunate and lucky; but, in my opinion, from the knowledge I have of the gentleman, he deserved and might expect from his conduct everything as it fell out; a man of an undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and of a presence of mind which never left him in the greatest danger, born a soldier; for, without a military education of any sort, or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgment and good sense he led on an army like an experienced officer and a brave soldier, with a prudence that certainly warranted success."

The French had no commander to oppose to the two friends. Dupleix, not inferior in talents for negotiation and intrigue to any European who has borne a part in the revolutions of India, was not qualified to direct in person military operations. He had not been bred a soldier, and had no inclination to become

one. His enemies accused him of personal cowardice; and he defended himself in a strain worthy of Captain Bobadil. He kept away from shot, he said, because silence and tranquillity were propitious to his genius, and he found it difficult to pursue his meditations amidst the noise of firearms. He was thus under the necessity of intrusting to others the execution of his great warlike designs; and he bitterly complained that he was ill served. He had indeed been assisted by one officer of eminent merit, the celebrated Bussy. But Bussy had marched northward with the Nizam and was fully employed in looking after his own interests and those of France at the court of that prince. Among the officers who remained with Dupleix, there was not a single man of capacity; and many of them were boys, at whose ignorance and folly the common soldiers laughed.

The English triumphed everywhere. The besiegers of Trichinopoly were themselves besieged and compelled to capitulate. Chunda Sahib fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, and was put to death, at the instigation probably of his competitor, Mohammed Ali. The spirit of Dupleix, however, was unconquerable, and his resources inexhaustible. From his employers in Europe he no longer received help or countenance. They condemned his policy. They gave him no pecuniary assistance. They sent him for troops only the sweepings of the galleys. Yet still he persisted, intrigued, bribed, promised, lavished his private fortune, strained his credit, procured new diplomas from Delhi, raised up new enemies to the government of Madras on every side, and found tools even among the allies of the English Company. But all was in vain. Slowly but steadily the power of Britain continued to increase, and that of France to decline.

The health of Clive had never been good during his residence in India; and his constitution was now so much impaired that he determined to return to England. Before his departure he undertook a service of considerable difficulty and performed it with his usual vigor and dexterity. The forts of Covelong and

Chingleput were occupied by French garrisons. It was determined to send a force against them. But the only force available for this purpose was of such a description that no officer but Clive would risk his reputation by commanding it. It consisted of five hundred newly levied sepoys, and two hundred recruits who had just landed from England, and who were the worst and lowest wretches that the Company's crimps could pick up in the flash houses of London. Clive, ill and exhausted as he was, undertook to make an army of this undisciplined rabble, and marched with them to Covelong. A shot from the fort killed one of these extraordinary soldiers; on which all the rest faced about and ran away, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Clive rallied them. On another occasion, the noise of a gun terrified the sentinels so much that one of them was found, some hours later, at the bottom of a well. Clive gradually accustomed them to danger, and, by exposing himself constantly in the most perilous situations, shamed them into courage. He at length succeeded in forming a respectable force out of his unpromising materials. Covelong fell. Clive learned that a strong detachment was marching to relieve it from Chingleput. He took measures to prevent the enemy from learning that they were too late, laid an ambuscade for them on the road, killed a hundred of them with one fire, took three hundred prisoners, pursued the fugitives to the gates of Chingleput, laid siege instantly to that fastness, reputed one of the strongest in India, made a breach, and was on the point of storming when the French commandant capitulated and retired with his men.

Clive returned to Madras victorious, but in a state of health which rendered it impossible for him to remain there long. He married at this time a young lady of the name of Maskelyne, sister of the eminent mathematician who long held the post of Astronomer Royal. She is described as handsome and accomplished; and her husband's letters, it is said, contain proofs that he was devotedly attached to her.

Almost immediately after the marriage Clive embarked with his bride for England. He returned a very different person from the poor slighted boy who had been sent out ten years before to seek his fortune. He was only twenty-seven; yet his country already respected him as one of her first soldiers. There was then general peace in Europe. The Carnatic was the only part of the world where the English and French were in arms against each other. The vast schemes of Dupleix had excited no small uneasiness in the city of London; and the rapid turn of fortune, which was chiefly owing to the courage and talents of Clive, had been hailed with great delight. The young captain was known at the India House by the honorable nickname of General Clive, and was toasted by that appellation at the feasts of the Directors. On his arrival in England he found himself an object of general interest and admiration. The East India Company thanked him for his services in the warmest terms, and bestowed on him a sword set with diamonds. With rare delicacy, he refused to receive this token of gratitude unless a similar compliment were paid to his friend and commander, Lawrence.

It may easily be supposed that Clive was most cordially welcomed home by his family, who were delighted by his success, though they seem to have been hardly able to comprehend how their naughty idle Bobby had become so great a man. His father had been singularly hard of belief. Not until the news of the defense of Arcot arrived in England was the old gentleman heard to growl out that, after all, the booby had something in him. His expressions of approbation became stronger and stronger as news arrived of one brilliant exploit after another; and he was at length immoderately fond and proud of his son.

Clive's relations had very substantial reasons for rejoicing at his return. Considerable sums of prize money had fallen to his share; and he had brought home a moderate fortune, part of which he expended in extricating his father from pecuniary

difficulties and in redeeming the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gayly even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition.

At the time of the general election of 1754 the Government was in a very singular state. There was scarcely any formal opposition. The Jacobites had been cowed by the issue of the last rebellion. The Tory party had fallen into utter contempt. It had been deserted by all the men of talents who had belonged to it, and had scarcely given a symptom of life during some years. The small faction which had been held together by the influence and promises of Prince Frederic had been dispersed by his death. Almost every public man of distinguished talents in the kingdom, whatever his early connections might have been, was in office, and called himself a Whig. But this extraordinary appearance of concord was quite delusive. The administration itself was distracted by bitter enmities and conflicting pretensions. The chief object of its members was to depress and supplant each other. The prime minister, Newcastle, weak, timid, jealous, and perfidious, was at once detested and despised by some of the most important members of his government, and by none more than by Henry Fox, the Secretary at War. This able, daring, and ambitious man seized every opportunity of crossing the First Lord of the Treasury, from whom he well knew that he had little to dread and little to hope; for Newcastle was through life equally afraid of breaking with men of parts and of promoting them.

Newcastle had set his heart on returning two members for St. Michael, one of those wretched Cornish boroughs which were swept away by the Reform Act in 1832. He was opposed by Lord Sandwich, whose influence had long been paramount

there; and Fox exerted himself strenuously in Sandwich's behalf. Clive, who had been introduced to Fox and very kindly received by him, was brought forward on the Sandwich interest and was returned. But a petition was presented against the return and was backed by the whole influence of the Duke of Newcastle.

The case was heard, according to the usage of that time, before a committee of the whole House. Questions respecting elections were then considered merely as party questions. Judicial impartiality was not even affected. Sir Robert Walpole was in the habit of saying openly that in election battles there ought to be no quarter. On the present occasion the excitement was great. The matter really at issue was, not whether Clive had been properly or improperly returned, but whether Newcastle or Fox was to be master of the new House of Commons, and consequently first minister. The contest was long and obstinate, and success seemed to lean sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. Fox put forth all his rare powers of debate, beat half the lawyers in the House at their own weapons, and carried division after division against the whole influence of the Treasury. The committee decided in Clive's favor. But when the resolution was reported to the House, things took a different course. The remnant of the Tory Opposition, contemptible as it was, had yet sufficient weight to turn the scale between the nicely balanced parties of Newcastle and Fox. Newcastle the Tories could only despise. Fox they hated, as the boldest and most subtle politician and the ablest debater among the Whigs, as the steady friend of Walpole, as the devoted adherent of the Duke of Cumberland. After wavering till the last moment, they determined to vote in a body with the Prime Minister's friends. The consequence was that the House, by a small majority, rescinded the decision of the committee, and Clive was unseated.

Ejected from Parliament and straitened in his means, he naturally began to look again towards India. The Company

and the Government were eager to avail themselves of his services. A treaty favorable to England had indeed been concluded in the Carnatic. Dupleix had been superseded and had returned with the wreck of his immense fortune to Europe, where calumny and chicanery soon hunted him to his grave. But many signs indicated that a war between France and Great Britain was at hand; and it was therefore thought desirable to send an able commander to the Company's settlements in India. The Directors appointed Clive governor of Fort St. David. The King gave him the commission of a lieutenant colonel in the British army, and in 1755 he again sailed for Asia.

The first service on which he was employed after his return to the East was the reduction of the stronghold of Gheriah. This fortress, built on a craggy promontory, and almost surrounded by the ocean, was the den of a pirate named Angria, whose barks had long been the terror of the Arabian Gulf. Admiral Watson, who commanded the English squadron in the Eastern seas, burned Angria's fleet, while Clive attacked the fastness by land. The place soon fell, and a booty of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling was divided among the conquerors.

After this exploit Clive proceeded to his government of Fort St. David. Before he had been there two months he received intelligence which called forth all the energy of his bold and active mind.

Of the provinces which had been subject to the house of Tamerlane, the wealthiest was Bengal. No part of India possessed such natural advantages, both for agriculture and for commerce. The Ganges, rushing through a hundred channels to the sea, has formed a vast plain of rich mold, which, even under the tropical sky, rivals the verdure of an English April. The rice fields yield an increase such as is elsewhere unknown. Spices, sugar, vegetable oils, are produced with marvelous exuberance. The rivers afford an inexhaustible supply of fish. The

desolate islands along the seacoast, overgrown by noxious vegetation and swarming with deer and tigers, supply the cultivated districts with abundance of salt. The great stream which fertilizes the soil is, at the same time, the chief highway of Eastern commerce. On its banks, and on those of its tributary waters, are the wealthiest marts, the most splendid capitals, and the most sacred shrines of India. The tyranny of man had for ages struggled in vain against the overflowing bounty of nature. In spite of the Mussulman despot and of the Mahratta freebooter, Bengal was known through the East as the garden of Eden, as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly. Distant provinces were nourished from the overflowing of its granaries; and the noble ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its looms. The race by whom this rich tract was peopled, enervated by a soft climate and accustomed to peaceful avocations, bore the same relation to other Asiatics which the Asiatics generally bear to the bold and energetic children of Europe. The Castilians have a proverb that in Valencia the earth is water and the men women; and the description is at least equally applicable to the vast plain of the Lower Ganges. Whatever the Bengalee does he does languidly. His favorite pursuits are sedentary. He shrinks from bodily exertion; and, though voluble in dispute, and singularly pertinacious in the war of chicane, he seldom engages in a personal conflict and scarcely ever enlists as a soldier. We doubt whether there be a hundred genuine Bengalese in the whole army of the East India Company. There never, perhaps, existed a people so thoroughly fitted by nature and by habit for a foreign yoke.

The great commercial companies of Europe had long possessed factories in Bengal. The French were settled, as they still are, at Chandernagore on the Hoogley. Higher up the stream the Dutch traders held Chinsurah. Nearer to the sea the English had built Fort William. A church and ample warehouses

rose in the vicinity. A row of spacious houses, belonging to the chief factors of the East India Company, lined the banks of the river; and in the neighborhood had sprung up a large and busy native town, where some Hindoo merchants of great opulence had fixed their abode. But the tract now covered by the palaces of Chowringhee contained only a few miserable huts thatched with straw. A jungle, abandoned to waterfowl and alligators, covered the site of the present Citadel and the Course, which is now daily crowded at sunset with the gayest equipages of Calcutta. For the ground on which the settlement stood, the English, like other great landholders, paid rent to the Government; and they were, like other great landholders, permitted to exercise a certain jurisdiction within their domain.

The great province of Bengal, together with Orissa and Bahar, had long been governed by a viceroy, whom the English called Aliverdy Khan, and who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, had become virtually independent. He died in 1756, and the sovereignty descended to his grandson, a youth under twenty years of age, who bore the name of Surajah Dowlah. Oriental despots are perhaps the worst class of human beings; and this unhappy boy was one of the worst specimens of his class. His understanding was naturally feeble, and his temper naturally unamiable. His education had been such as would have enervated even a vigorous intellect and perverted even a generous disposition. He was unreasonable, because nobody ever dared to reason with him; and selfish, because he had never been made to feel himself dependent on the good will of others. Early debauchery had unnerved his body and his mind. He indulged immoderately in the use of ardent spirits, which inflamed his weak brain almost to madness. His chosen companions were flatterers, sprung from the dregs of the people, and recommended by nothing but buffoonery and servility. It is said that he had arrived at that last stage of human depravity, when cruelty becomes pleasing for its own sake, — when the sight of

pain as pain, where no advantage is to be gained, no offense punished, no danger averted, is an agreeable excitement. It had early been his amusement to torture beasts and birds; and when he grew up, he enjoyed with still keener relish the misery of his fellow creatures.

From a child Surajah Dowlah had hated the English. It was his whim to do so; and his whims were never opposed. He had also formed a very exaggerated notion of the wealth which might be obtained by plundering them; and his feeble and uncultivated mind was incapable of perceiving that the riches of Calcutta, had they been even greater than he imagined, would not compensate him for what he must lose, if the European trade, of which Bengal was a chief seat, should be driven by his violence to some other quarter. Pretexts for a quarrel were readily found. The English, in expectation of a war with France, had begun to fortify their settlement without special permission from the Nabob. A rich native, whom he longed to plunder, had taken refuge at Calcutta, and had not been delivered up. On such grounds as these Surajah Dowlah marched with a great army against Fort William.

The servants of the Company at Madras had been forced by Dupleix to become statesmen and soldiers. Those in Bengal were still mere traders, and were terrified and bewildered by the approaching danger. The Governor, who had heard much of Surajah Dowlah's cruelty, was frightened out of his wits, jumped into a boat, and took refuge in the nearest ship. The military commandant thought that he could not do better than follow so good an example. The fort was taken after a feeble resistance; and great numbers of the English fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Nabob seated himself with regal pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell, the first in rank among the prisoners, to be brought before him. His Highness abused the insolence of the English, and grumbled at the smallness of the treasure which he had found; but promised to spare their lives, and retired to rest.

Then was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left to the mercy of the guards, and the guards determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was one hundred and forty-six. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the Nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated; they entreated; but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them.

Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who even in that extremity retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the jailers. But the answer was that nothing could be done without the Nabob's orders, that the Nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the

guards to fire among them. The jailers, in the meantime, held lights to the bars and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The Nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors, by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up.

But these things, which, after the lapse of more than eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage Nabob. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered to depart; but those from whom it was thought that anything could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose to tell about the treasures of the Company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the Nabob procured their release. One Englishwoman had survived that night. She was placed in the harem of the Prince at Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah, in the meantime, sent letters to his nominal sovereign at Delhi, describing the late conquest in the most pompous language. He placed a garrison in Fort William, forbade

any Englishman to dwell in the neighborhood, and directed that, in memory of his great actions, Calcutta should thenceforward be called Alinagore, that is to say, the Port of God.

In August the news of the fall of Calcutta reached Madras, and excited the fiercest and bitterest resentment. The cry of the whole settlement was for vengeance. Within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the intelligence it was determined that an expedition should be sent to the Hoogley, and that Clive should be at the head of the land forces. The naval armament was under the command of Admiral Watson. Nine hundred English infantry, fine troops and full of spirit, and fifteen hundred sepoys, composed the army which sailed to punish a Prince who had more subjects than Louis the Fifteenth or the Empress Maria Theresa. In October the expedition sailed; but it had to make its way against adverse winds, and did not reach Bengal till December.

The Nabob was reveling in fancied security at Moorshedabad. He was so profoundly ignorant of the state of foreign countries that he often used to say that there were not ten thousand men in all Europe; and it had never occurred to him as possible, that the English would dare to invade his dominions. But, though undisturbed by any fear of their military power, he began to miss them greatly. His revenues fell off; and his ministers succeeded in making him understand that a ruler may sometimes find it more profitable to protect traders in the open enjoyment of their gains than to put them to the torture for the purpose of discovering hidden chests of gold and jewels. He was already disposed to permit the Company to resume its mercantile operations in his country, when he received the news that an English armament was in the Hoogley. He instantly ordered all his troops to assemble at Moorshedabad, and marched towards Calcutta.

Clive had commenced operations with his usual vigor. He took Budgebudge, routed the garrison of Fort William, recovered

Calcutta, stormed and sacked Hoogley. The Nabob, already disposed to make some concessions to the English, was confirmed in his pacific disposition by these proofs of their power and spirit. He accordingly made overtures to the chiefs of the invading armament, and offered to restore the factory, and to give compensation to those whom he had despoiled.

Clive's profession was war; and he felt that there was something discreditable in an accommodation with Surajah Dowlah. But his power was limited. A committee, chiefly composed of servants of the Company who had fled from Calcutta, had the principal direction of affairs; and these persons were eager to be restored to their posts and compensated for their losses. The Government of Madras, apprised that war had commenced in Europe, and apprehensive of an attack from the French, became impatient for the return of the armament. The promises of the Nabob were large, the chances of a contest doubtful; and Clive consented to treat, though he expressed his regret that things should not be concluded in so glorious a manner as he could have wished.

With this negotiation commences a new chapter in the life of Clive. Hitherto he had been merely a soldier, carrying into effect, with eminent ability and valor, the plans of others. Henceforth he is to be chiefly regarded as a statesman; and his military movements are to be considered as subordinate to his political designs. That in his new capacity he displayed great talents, and obtained great success, is unquestionable. But it is also unquestionable, that the transactions in which he now began to take a part have left a stain on his moral character.

We can by no means agree with Sir John Malcolm, who is obstinately resolved to see nothing but honor and integrity in the conduct of his hero. But we can as little agree with Mr. Mill, who has gone so far as to say that Clive was a man "to whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang."

Clive seems to us to have been constitutionally the very opposite of a knave, bold even to temerity, sincere even to indiscretion, hearty in friendship, open in enmity. Neither in his private life, nor in those parts of his public life in which he had to do with his countrymen, do we find any signs of a propensity to cunning. On the contrary, in all the disputes in which he was engaged as an Englishman against Englishmen, from his boxing matches at school to those stormy altercations at the India House and in Parliament, amidst which his later years were passed, his very faults were those of a high and magnanimous spirit. The truth seems to have been that he considered Oriental politics as a game in which nothing was unfair. He knew that the standard of morality among the natives of India differed widely from that established in England. He knew that he had to deal with men destitute of what in Europe is called honor, with men who would give any promise without hesitation, and break any promise without shame, with men who would unscrupulously employ corruption, perjury, forgery, to compass their ends. His letters show that the great difference between Asiatic and European morality was constantly in his thoughts. He seems to have imagined, most erroneously in our opinion, that he could effect nothing against such adversaries, if he was content to be bound by ties from which they were free; if he went on telling truth and hearing none; if he fulfilled, to his own hurt, all his engagements with confederates who never kept an engagement that was not to their advantage. Accordingly this man, in the other parts of his life an honorable English gentleman and a soldier, was no sooner matched against an Indian intriguer than he became himself an Indian intriguer, and descended without scruple to falsehood, to hypocritical caresses, to the substitution of documents, and to the counterfeiting of hands.

The negotiations between the English and the Nabob were carried on chiefly by two agents, Mr. Watts, a servant of the Company, and a Bengalee of the name of Omichund. This

Omichund had been one of the wealthiest native merchants resident at Calcutta, and had sustained great losses in consequence of the Nabob's expedition against that place. In the course of his commercial transactions he had seen much of the English, and was peculiarly qualified to serve as a medium of communication between them and a native court. He possessed great influence with his own race, and had in large measure the Hindoo talents, — quick observation, tact, dexterity, perseverance; and the Hindoo vices, — servility, greediness, and treachery.

The Nabob behaved with all the faithlessness of an Indian statesman, and with all the levity of a boy whose mind had been enfeebled by power and self-indulgence. He promised, retracted, hesitated, evaded. At one time he advanced with his army in a threatening manner towards Calcutta; but when he saw the resolute front which the English presented, he fell back in alarm, and consented to make peace with them on their own terms. The treaty was no sooner concluded than he formed new designs against them. He intrigued with the French authorities at Chandernagore. He invited Bussy to march from the Deccan to the Hoogley, and to drive the English out of Bengal. All this was well known to Clive and Watson. They determined accordingly to strike a decisive blow, and to attack Chandernagore, before the force there could be strengthened by new arrivals, either from the south of India or from Europe. Watson directed the expedition by water, Clive by land. The success of the combined movements was rapid and complete. The fort, the garrison, the artillery, the military stores, all fell into the hands of the English. Near five hundred European troops were among the prisoners.

The Nabob had feared and hated the English, even while he was still able to oppose to them their French rivals. The French were now vanquished; and he began to regard the English with still greater fear and still greater hatred. His

weak and unprincipled mind oscillated between servility and insolence. One day he sent a large sum to Calcutta, as part of the compensation due for the wrongs which he had committed. The next day he sent a present of jewels to Bussy, exhorting that distinguished officer to hasten to protect Bengal "against Clive, the daring in war, on whom," says his Highness, "may all bad fortune attend." He ordered his army to march against the English. He countermanded his orders. He tore Clive's letters. He then sent answers in the most florid language of compliment. He ordered Watts out of his presence, and threatened to impale him. He again sent for Watts, and begged pardon for the insult. In the meantime his wretched maladministration, his folly, his dissolute manners, and his love of the lowest company had disgusted all classes of his subjects, — soldiers, traders, civil functionaries, the proud and ostentatious Mohammedans, the timid, supple, and parsimonious Hindoos. A formidable confederacy was formed against him, in which were included Roydullub, the minister of finance, Meer Jaffier, the principal commander of the troops, and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India. The plot was confided to the English agents, and a communication was opened between the malcontents at Moorshedabad and the committee at Calcutta.

In the committee there was much hesitation; but Clive's voice was given in favor of the conspirators, and his vigor and firmness bore down all opposition. It was determined that the English should lend their powerful assistance to depose Surajah Dowlah, and to place Meer Jaffier on the throne of Bengal. In return Meer Jaffier promised ample compensation to the Company and its servants, and a liberal donative to the army, the navy, and the committee. The odious vices of Surajah Dowlah, the wrongs which the English had suffered at his hands, the dangers to which our trade must have been exposed had he continued to reign, appear to us fully to justify the resolution of deposing him. But nothing can justify the dissimulation

which Clive stooped to practice. He wrote to Surajah Dowlah in terms so affectionate that they for a time lulled that weak prince into perfect security. The same courtier who carried this "soothing letter," as Clive calls it, to the Nabob, carried to Mr. Watts a letter in the following terms: "Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing. I will join him with five thousand men who never turned their backs. Assure him I will march night and day to his assistance, and stand by him as long as I have a man left."

It was impossible that a plot which had so many ramifications should long remain entirely concealed. Enough reached the ears of the Nabob to arouse his suspicions. But he was soon quieted by the fictions and artifices which the inventive genius of Omichund produced with miraculous readiness. All was going well; the plot was nearly ripe when Clive learned that Omichund was likely to play false. The artful Bengalee had been promised a liberal compensation for all that he had lost at Calcutta. But this would not satisfy him. His services had been great. He held the thread of the whole intrigue. By one word breathed in the ear of Surajah Dowlah, he could undo all that he had done. The lives of Watts, of Meer Jaffier, of all the conspirators, were at his mercy; and he determined to take advantage of his situation and to make his own terms. He demanded three hundred thousand pounds sterling as the price of his secrecy and of his assistance. The committee, incensed by the treachery and appalled by the danger, knew not what course to take. But Clive was more than Omichund's match in Omichund's own arts. The man, he said, was a villain. Any artifice which would defeat such knavery was justifiable. The best course would be to promise what was asked. Omichund would soon be at their mercy; and then they might punish him by withholding from him not only the bribe which he now demanded, but also the compensation which all the other sufferers of Calcutta were to receive.

His advice was taken. But how was the wary and sagacious Hindoo to be deceived? He had demanded that an article touching his claims should be inserted in the treaty between Meer Jaffier and the English, and he would not be satisfied unless he saw it with his own eyes. Clive had an expedient ready. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red; the former real, the latter fictitious. In the former Omichund's name was not mentioned; the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained a stipulation in his favor.

But another difficulty arose. Admiral Watson had scruples about signing the red treaty. Omichund's vigilance and acuteness were such that the absence of so important a name would probably awaken his suspicions. But Clive was not a man to do anything by halves. We almost blush to write it. He forged Admiral Watson's name.

All was now ready for action. Mr. Watts fled secretly from Moorshedabad. Clive put his troops in motion, and wrote to the Nabob in a tone very different from that of his previous letters. He set forth all the wrongs which the British had suffered, offered to submit the points in dispute to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, and concluded by announcing that, as the rains were about to set in, he and his men would do themselves the honor of waiting on his Highness for an answer.

Surajah Dowlah instantly assembled his whole force, and marched to encounter the English. It had been agreed that Meer Jaffier should separate himself from the Nabob and carry over his division to Clive. But, as the decisive moment approached, the fears of the conspirator overpowered his ambition. Clive had advanced to Cossimbuzar; the Nabob lay with a mighty power a few miles off at Plassey; and still Meer Jaffier delayed to fulfill his engagements, and returned evasive answers to the earnest remonstrances of the English general.

Clive was in a painfully anxious situation. He could place no confidence in the sincerity or in the courage of his confederate;

and whatever confidence he might place in his own military talents and in the valor and discipline of his troops, it was no light thing to engage an army twenty times as numerous as his own. Before him lay a river over which it was easy to advance, but over which, if things went ill, not one of his little band would ever return. On this occasion, for the first and for the last time, his dauntless spirit, during a few hours, shrank from the fearful responsibility of making a decision. He called a council of war. The majority pronounced against fighting; and Clive declared his concurrence with the majority. Long afterwards he said that he had never called but one council of war, and that, if he had taken the advice of that council, the British would never have been masters of Bengal. But scarcely had the meeting broken up when he was himself again. He retired alone under the shade of some trees, and passed near an hour there in thought. He came back determined to put everything to the hazard, and gave orders that all should be in readiness for passing the river on the morrow.

The river was passed; and at the close of a toilsome day's march the army, long after sunset, took up its quarters in a grove of mango trees near Plassey, within a mile of the enemy. Clive was unable to sleep; he heard, through the whole night, the sound of drums and cymbals from the vast camp of the Nabob. It is not strange that even his stout heart should now and then have sunk, when he reflected against what odds, and for what a prize, he was in a few hours to contend.

Nor was the rest of Surajah Dowlah more peaceful. His mind, at once weak and stormy, was distracted by wild and horrible apprehensions. Appalled by the greatness and nearness of the crisis, distrusting his captains, dreading every one who approached him, dreading to be left alone, he sat gloomily in his tent, haunted, a Greek poet would have said, by the furies of those who had cursed him with their last breath in the Black Hole.

The day broke, the day which was to decide the fate of India. At sunrise the army of the Nabob, pouring through many openings from the camp, began to move towards the grove where the English lay. Forty thousand infantry, armed with firelocks, pikes, swords, bows and arrows, covered the plain. They were accompanied by fifty pieces of ordnance of the largest size, each tugged by a long team of white oxen, and each pushed on from behind by an elephant. Some smaller guns, under the direction of a few French auxiliaries, were perhaps more formidable. The cavalry were fifteen thousand, drawn, not from the effeminate population of Bengal, but from the bolder race which inhabits the northern provinces; and the practiced eye of Clive could perceive that both the men and the horses were more powerful than those of the Carnatic. The force which he had to oppose to this great multitude consisted of only three thousand men. But of these nearly a thousand were English; and all were led by English officers and trained in the English discipline. Conspicuous in the ranks of the little army were the men of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment, which still bears on its colors, amidst many honorable additions won under Wellington in Spain and Gascony, the name of Plassey, and the proud motto, *Primus in Indis*.

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the artillery of the Nabob did scarcely any execution, while the few field-pieces of the English produced great effect. Several of the most distinguished officers in Surajah Dowlah's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expediency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered his army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valor. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was

ever more completely routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept down the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Surajah Dowlah were dispersed, never to reassemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain, but their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable wagons, innumerable cattle, remained in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of nearly sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain.

Meer Jaffier had given no assistance to the English during the action. But as soon as he saw that the fate of the day was decided, he drew off his division of the army, and when the battle was over sent his congratulations to his ally. The next morning he repaired to the English quarters, not a little uneasy as to the reception which awaited him there. He gave evident signs of alarm when a guard was drawn out to receive him with the honors due to his rank. But his apprehensions were speedily removed. Clive came forward to meet him, embraced him, saluted him as Nabob of the three great provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, listened graciously to his apologies, and advised him to march without delay to Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah had fled from the field of battle with all the speed with which a fleet camel could carry him, and arrived at Moorshedabad in little more than twenty-four hours. There he called his councilors round him. The wisest advised him to put himself into the hands of the English, from whom he had nothing worse to fear than deposition and confinement. But he attributed this suggestion to treachery. Others urged him to try the chance of war again. He approved the advice and issued orders accordingly. But he wanted spirit to adhere, even during one day, to a manly resolution. He learned that Meer Jaffier had arrived, and his terrors became insupportable. Disguised in a mean dress, with a casket of jewels in his hand, he let

himself down at night from a window of his palace, and, accompanied by only two attendants, embarked on the river for Patna.

In a few days Clive arrived at Moorshedabad, escorted by two hundred English soldiers and three hundred sepoys. For his residence had been assigned a palace, which was surrounded by a garden so spacious that all the troops who accompanied him could conveniently encamp within it. The ceremony of the installation of Meer Jaffier was instantly performed. Clive led the new Nabob to the seat of honor, placed him on it, presented to him, after the immemorial fashion of the East, an offering of gold, and then, turning to the natives who filled the hall, congratulated them on the good fortune which had freed them from a tyrant. He was compelled on this occasion to use the services of an interpreter; for it is remarkable that, long as he resided in India, intimately acquainted as he was with Indian politics and with the Indian character, and adored as he was by his Indian soldiery, he never learned to express himself with facility in any Indian language. He is said, indeed, to have been sometimes under the necessity of employing, in his intercourse with natives of India, the smattering of Portuguese which he had acquired when a lad in Brazil.

The new sovereign was now called upon to fulfill the engagements into which he had entered with his allies. A conference was held at the house of Jugget Seit, the great banker, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements. Omichund came thither, fully believing himself to stand high in the favor of Clive, who, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had, up to that day, treated him with undiminished kindness. The white treaty was produced and read. Clive then turned to Mr. Scrafton, one of the servants of the Company, and said in English, "It is now time to undeceive Omichund." "Omichund," said Mr. Scrafton in Hindostanee, "the red treaty is a trick. You are to have nothing." Omichund fell back insensible into the arms of his attendants. He revived;

but his mind was irreparably ruined. Clive, who, though little troubled by scruples of conscience in his dealings with Indian politicians, was not inhuman, seems to have been touched. He saw Omichund a few days later, spoke to him kindly, advised him to make a pilgrimage to one of the great temples of India, in the hope that change of scene might restore his health, and was even disposed, notwithstanding all that had passed, again to employ his talents in the public service. But, from the moment of that sudden shock, the unhappy man sank gradually into idiocy. He, who had formerly been distinguished by the strength of his understanding and the simplicity of his habits, now squandered the remains of his fortune on childish trinkets, and loved to exhibit himself dressed in rich garments and hung with precious stones. In this abject state he languished a few months and then died.

We should not think it necessary to offer any remarks for the purpose of directing the judgment of our readers with respect to this transaction, had not Sir John Malcolm undertaken to defend it in all its parts. He regrets, indeed, that it was necessary to employ means so liable to abuse as forgery; but he will not admit that any blame attaches to those who deceived the deceiver. He thinks that the English were not bound to keep faith with one who kept no faith with them, and that, if they had fulfilled their engagements with the wily Bengalee, so signal an example of successful treason would have produced a crowd of imitators. Now we will not discuss this point on any rigid principles of morality. Indeed, it is quite unnecessary to do so; for, looking at the question as a question of expediency in the lowest sense of the word, and using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Borgia, we are convinced that Clive was altogether in the wrong, and that he committed not merely a crime but a blunder. That honesty is the best policy is a maxim which we firmly believe to be generally correct, even with respect

to the temporal interests of individuals; but, with respect to societies, the rule is subject to still fewer exceptions, and that, for this reason, that the life of societies is longer than the life of individuals. It is possible to mention men who have owed great worldly prosperity to breaches of private faith. But we doubt whether it be possible to mention a state which has, on the whole, been a gainer by a breach of public faith. The entire history of British India is an illustration of the great truth, that it is not prudent to oppose perfidy to perfidy, and that the most efficient weapon with which men can encounter falsehood is truth. During a long course of years the English rulers of India, surrounded by allies and enemies whom no engagement could bind, have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness; and the event has proved that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom. English valor and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental empire than English veracity. All that we could have gained by imitating the doublings, the evasions, the fictions, the perjuries which have been employed against us, is as nothing, when compared with what we have gained by being the one power in India on whose word reliance can be placed. No oath which superstition can devise, no hostage, however precious, inspires a hundredth part of the confidence which is produced by the "yea, yea" and "nay, nay" of a British envoy. No fastness, however strong by art or nature, gives to its inmates a security like that enjoyed by the chief who, passing through the territories of powerful and deadly enemies, is armed with the British guarantee. The mightiest princes of the East can scarcely, by the offer of enormous usury, draw forth any portion of the wealth which is concealed under the hearths of their subjects. The British Government offers little more than four per cent; and avarice hastens to bring forth tens of millions of rupees from its most secret repositories. A hostile monarch may promise mountains of gold to our sepoys, on condition that they will desert the standard of the Company.

The Company promises only a moderate pension after a long service. But every sepoy knows that the promise of the Company will be kept; he knows that if he lives a hundred years, his rice and salt are as secure as the salary of the Governor-General; and he knows that there is not another state in India which would not, in spite of the most solemn vows, leave him to die of hunger in a ditch as soon as he had ceased to be useful. The greatest advantage which a government can possess is to be the one trustworthy government in the midst of governments which nobody can trust. This advantage we enjoy in Asia. Had we acted during the last two generations on the principles which Sir John Malcolm appears to have considered as sound; had we, as often as we had to deal with people like Omichund, retaliated by lying, and forging, and breaking faith, after their fashion, it is our firm belief that no courage or capacity could have upheld our empire.

Sir John Malcolm admits that Clive's breach of faith could be justified only by the strongest necessity. As we think that breach of faith not only unnecessary, but most inexpedient, we need hardly say that we altogether condemn it.

Omichund was not the only victim of the revolution. Surajah Dowlah was taken a few days after his flight, and was brought before Meer Jaffier. There he flung himself on the ground in convulsions of fear, and with tears and loud cries implored the mercy which he had never shown. Meer Jaffier hesitated; but his son Meeran, a youth of seventeen, who in feebleness of brain and savageness of nature greatly resembled the wretched captive, was implacable. Surajah Dowlah was led into a secret chamber, to which in a short time the ministers of death were sent. In this act the English bore no part; and Meer Jaffier understood so much of their feelings that he thought it necessary to apologize to them for having avenged them on their most malignant enemy.

The shower of wealth now fell copiously on the Company and its servants. A sum of eight hundred thousand pounds

sterling, in coined silver, was sent down the river from Moorshedabad to Fort William. The fleet which conveyed this treasure consisted of more than a hundred boats, and performed its triumphal voyage with flags flying and music playing. Calcutta, which a few months before had been desolate, was now more prosperous than ever. Trade revived, and the signs of affluence appeared in every English house. As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were piled up, after the usage of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected the florins and bezants with which, before any European ship had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and was at liberty to help himself. He accepted between two and three hundred thousand pounds.

The pecuniary transactions between Meer Jaffier and Clive were sixteen years later condemned by the public voice and severely criticised in Parliament. They are vehemently defended by Sir John Malcolm. The accusers of the victorious general represented his gains as the wages of corruption, or as plunder extorted at the point of the sword from a helpless ally. The biographer, on the other hand, considers these great acquisitions as free gifts, honorable alike to the donor and to the receiver, and compares them to the rewards bestowed by foreign powers on Marlborough, on Nelson, and on Wellington. It had always, he says, been customary in the East to give and receive presents; and there was, as yet, no Act of Parliament positively prohibiting English functionaries in India from profiting by this Asiatic usage. This reasoning, we own, does not quite satisfy us. We do not suspect Clive of selling the interests of his employers or his country; but we cannot acquit him of having done what, if not in itself evil, was yet of evil example. Nothing is more

clear than that a general ought to be the servant of his own government, and of no other. It follows that whatever rewards he receives for his services ought to be given either by his own government, or with the full knowledge and approbation of his own government. This rule ought to be strictly maintained even with respect to the merest bauble, with respect to a cross, a medal, or a yard of colored ribbon. But how can any government be well served, if those who command its forces are at liberty, without its permission, without its privity, to accept princely fortunes from its allies? It is idle to say that there was then no Act of Parliament prohibiting the practice of taking presents from Asiatic sovereigns. It is not on the Act which was passed at a later period for the purpose of preventing any such taking of presents, but on grounds which were valid before that Act was passed, on grounds of common law and common sense, that we arraign the conduct of Clive. There is no Act that we know of, prohibiting the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from being in the pay of continental powers. But it is not the less true that a Secretary who should receive a secret pension from France would grossly violate his duty and would deserve severe punishment. Sir John Malcolm compares the conduct of Clive with that of the Duke of Wellington. Suppose — and we beg pardon for putting such a supposition even for the sake of argument — that the Duke of Wellington had, after the campaign of 1815, and while he commanded the army of occupation in France, privately accepted two hundred thousand pounds from Louis the Eighteenth, as a mark of gratitude for the great services which his Grace had rendered to the house of Bourbon; what would be thought of such a transaction? Yet the statute book no more forbids the taking of presents in Europe now than it forbade the taking of presents in Asia then.

At the same time it must be admitted that, in Clive's case, there were many extenuating circumstances. He considered

himself as the general not of the Crown but of the Company. The Company had, by implication at least, authorized its agents to enrich themselves by means of the liberality of the native princes, and by other means still more objectionable. It was hardly to be expected that the servant should entertain stricter notions of his duty than were entertained by his masters. Though Clive did not distinctly acquaint his employers with what had taken place, and request their sanction, he did not, on the other hand, by studied concealment, show that he was conscious of having done wrong. On the contrary, he avowed with the greatest openness that the Nabob's bounty had raised him to affluence. Lastly, though we think that he ought not in such a way to have taken anything, we must admit that he deserves praise for having taken so little. He accepted twenty lacs of rupees. It would have cost him only a word to make the twenty forty. It was a very easy exercise of virtue to declaim in England against Clive's rapacity; but not one in a hundred of his accusers would have shown so much self-command in the treasury of Moorshedabad.

Meer Jaffier could be upheld on the throne only by the hand which had placed him on it. He was not, indeed, a mere boy; nor had he been so unfortunate as to be born in the purple. He was not therefore quite so imbecile or quite so depraved as his predecessor had been. But he had none of the talents or virtues which his post required; and his son and heir, Meeran, was another Surajah Dowlah. The recent revolution had unsettled the minds of men. Many chiefs were in open insurrection against the new Nabob. The viceroy of the rich and powerful province of Oude, who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, was now in truth an independent sovereign, menaced Bengal with invasion. Nothing but the talents and authority of Clive could support the tottering government. While things were in this state a ship arrived with dispatches which had been written at the India House before the news of

the battle of Plassey had reached London. The Directors had determined to place the English settlements in Bengal under a government constituted in the most cumbrous and absurd manner; and, to make the matter worse, no place in the arrangement was assigned to Clive. The persons who were selected to form this new government, greatly to their honor, took on themselves the responsibility of disobeying these preposterous orders, and invited Clive to exercise the supreme authority. He consented; and it soon appeared that the servants of the Company had only anticipated the wishes of their employers. The Directors, on receiving news of Clive's brilliant success, instantly appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal, with the highest marks of gratitude and esteem. His power was now boundless, and far surpassed even that which Dupleix had attained in the south of India. Meer Jaffier regarded him with slavish awe. On one occasion the Nabob spoke with severity to a native chief of high rank, whose followers had been engaged in a brawl with some of the Company's sepoys. "Are you yet to learn," he said, "who that Colonel Clive is, and in what station God has placed him?" The chief, who, as a famous jester and an old friend of Meer Jaffier, could venture to take liberties, answered: "I affront the Colonel! I, who never get up in the morning without making three low bows to his jackass!" This was hardly an exaggeration. Europeans and natives were alike at Clive's feet. The English regarded him as the only man who could force Meer Jaffier to keep his engagements with them. Meer Jaffier regarded him as the only man who could protect the new dynasty against turbulent subjects and encroaching neighbors.

It is but justice to say that Clive used his power ably and vigorously for the advantage of his country. He sent forth an expedition against the tract lying to the north of the Carnatic. In this tract the French still had the ascendancy, and it was important to dislodge them. The conduct of the enterprise

was intrusted to an officer of the name of Forde, who was then little known, but in whom the keen eye of the Governor had detected military talents of a high order. The success of the expedition was rapid and splendid.

While a considerable part of the army of Bengal was thus engaged at a distance, a new and formidable danger menaced the western frontier. The Great Mogul was a prisoner at Delhi in the hands of a subject. His eldest son, named Shah Alum, destined to be, during many years, the sport of adverse fortune, and to be a tool in the hands first of the Mahrattas and then of the English, had fled from the palace of his father. His birth was still revered in India. Some powerful princes, the Nabob of Oude in particular, were inclined to favor him. Shah Alum found it easy to draw to his standard great numbers of the military adventurers with whom every part of the country swarmed. An army of forty thousand men, of various races and religions, Mahrattas, Rohillas, Jauts, and Afghans, was speedily assembled round him; and he formed the design of overthrowing the upstart whom the English had elevated to a throne, and of establishing his own authority throughout Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

Meer Jaffier's terror was extreme; and the only expedient which occurred to him was to purchase, by the payment of a large sum of money, an accommodation with Shah Alum. This expedient had been repeatedly employed by those who, before him, had ruled the rich and unwarlike provinces near the mouth of the Ganges. But Clive treated the suggestion with a scorn worthy of his strong sense and dauntless courage. "If you do this," he wrote, "you will have the Nabob of Oude, the Mahrattas, and many more, come from all parts of the confines of your country, who will bully you out of money till you have none left in your treasury. I beg your excellency will rely on the fidelity of the English, and of those troops which are attached to you." He wrote, in a similar strain, to

the governor of Patna, a brave native soldier whom he highly esteemed. "Come to no terms; defend your city to the last. Rest assured that the English are stanch and firm friends, and that they never desert a cause in which they have once taken a part."

He kept his word. Shah Alum had invested Patna, and was on the point of proceeding to storm, when he learned that the Colonel was advancing by forced marches. The whole army which was approaching consisted of only four hundred and fifty Europeans and twenty-five hundred sepoys. But Clive and his Englishmen were now objects of dread over all the East. As soon as his advanced guard appeared, the besiegers fled before him. A few French adventurers who were about the person of the prince advised him to try the chance of battle; but in vain. In a few days this great army, which had been regarded with so much uneasiness by the court of Moorshedabad, melted away before the mere terror of the British name.

The conqueror returned in triumph to Fort William. The joy of Meer Jaffier was as unbounded as his fears had been, and led him to bestow on his preserver a princely token of gratitude. The quitrent which the East India Company were bound to pay to the Nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta amounted to near thirty thousand pounds sterling a year. The whole of this splendid estate, sufficient to support with dignity the highest rank of the British peerage, was now conferred on Clive for life.

This present we think Clive justified in accepting. It was a present which, from its very nature, could be no secret. In fact, the Company itself was his tenant, and by its acquiescence signified its approbation of Meer Jaffier's grant.

But the gratitude of Meer Jaffier did not last long. He had for some time felt that the powerful ally who had set him up might pull him down, and had been looking round for support

against the formidable strength by which he had himself been hitherto supported. He knew that it would be impossible to find among the natives of India any force which would look the Colonel's little army in the face. The French power in Bengal was extinct. But the fame of the Dutch had anciently been great in the Eastern seas; and it was not yet distinctly known in Asia how much the power of Holland had declined in Europe. Secret communications passed between the court of Moorshedabad and the Dutch factory at Chinsurah; and urgent letters were sent from Chinsurah, exhorting the Government of Batavia to fit out an expedition which might balance the power of the English in Bengal. The authorities of Batavia, eager to extend the influence of their country, and still more eager to obtain for themselves a share of the wealth which had recently raised so many English adventurers to opulence, equipped a powerful armament. Seven large ships from Java arrived unexpectedly in the Hoogley. The military force on board amounted to fifteen hundred men, of whom about one half were Europeans. The enterprise was well timed. Clive had sent such large detachments to oppose the French in the Carnatic that his army was now inferior in number to that of the Dutch. He knew that Meer Jaffier secretly favored the invaders. He knew that he took on himself a serious responsibility if he attacked the forces of a friendly power; that the English ministers could not wish to see a war with Holland added to that in which they were already engaged with France; that they might disavow his acts; that they might punish him. He had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe, through the Dutch East India Company; and he had therefore a strong interest in avoiding any quarrel. But he was satisfied that if he suffered the Batavian armament to pass up the river and to join the garrison of Chinsurah, Meer Jaffier would throw himself into the arms of these new allies, and that the English ascendancy in Bengal would be exposed to

most serious danger. He took his resolution with characteristic boldness, and was most ably seconded by his officers, particularly by Colonel Forde, to whom the most important part of the operations was intrusted. The Dutch attempted to force a passage. The English encountered them both by land and water. On both elements the enemy had a great superiority of force. On both they were signally defeated. Their ships were taken. Their troops were put to a total rout. Almost all the European soldiers, who constituted the main strength of the invading army, were killed or taken. The conquerors sat down before Chinsurah, and the chiefs of that settlement, now thoroughly humbled, consented to the terms which Clive dictated. They engaged to build no fortifications, and to raise no troops beyond a small force necessary for the police of their factories; and it was distinctly provided that any violation of these covenants should be punished with instant expulsion from Bengal.

Three months after this great victory Clive sailed for England. At home honors and rewards awaited him, not indeed equal to his claims or to his ambition, but still such as, when his age, his rank in the army, and his original place in society are considered, must be pronounced rare and splendid. He was raised to the Irish peerage and encouraged to expect an English title. George the Third, who had just ascended the throne, received him with great distinction. The ministers paid him marked attention; and Pitt, whose influence in the House of Commons and in the country was unbounded, was eager to mark his regard for one whose exploits had contributed so much to the luster of that memorable period. The great orator had already in Parliament described Clive as a heaven-born general, as a man who, bred to the labor of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia. There were then no reporters in the gallery; but these words, emphatically spoken by the first

statesman of the age, had passed from mouth to mouth, had been transmitted to Clive in Bengal, and had greatly delighted and flattered him. Indeed, since the death of Wolfe, Clive was the only English general of whom his countrymen had much reason to be proud. The Duke of Cumberland had been generally unfortunate; and his single victory, having been gained over his countrymen, and used with merciless severity, had been more fatal to his popularity than his many defeats. Conway, versed in the learning of his profession and personally courageous, wanted vigor and capacity. Granby, honest, generous, and as brave as a lion, had neither science nor genius. Sackville, inferior in knowledge and abilities to none of his contemporaries, had incurred, unjustly as we believe, the imputation most fatal to the character of a soldier. It was under the command of a foreign general that the British had triumphed at Minden and Warburg. The people, therefore, as was natural, greeted with pride and delight a captain of their own, whose native courage and self-taught skill had placed him on a level with the great tacticians of Germany.

The wealth of Clive was such as enabled him to vie with the first grandees of England. There remains proof that he had remitted more than a hundred and eighty thousand pounds through the Dutch East India Company, and more than forty thousand pounds through the English Company. The amount which he had sent home through private houses was also considerable. He had invested great sums in jewels, then a very common mode of remittance from India. His purchases of diamonds, at Madras alone, amounted to twenty-five thousand pounds. Besides a great mass of ready money, he had his Indian estate, valued by himself at twenty-seven thousand a year. His whole annual income, in the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, who is desirous to state it as low as possible, exceeded forty thousand pounds; and incomes of forty thousand pounds at the time of the accession of George the Third were

at least as rare as incomes of a hundred thousand pounds now. We may safely affirm that no Englishman who started with nothing has ever, in any line of life, created such a fortune at the early age of thirty-four.

It would be unjust not to add that Clive made a creditable use of his riches. As soon as the battle of Plassey had laid the foundation of his fortune, he sent ten thousand pounds to his sisters, bestowed as much more on other poor friends and relations, ordered his agent to pay eight hundred a year to his parents, and to insist that they should keep a carriage, and settled five hundred a year on his old commander Lawrence, whose means were very slender. The whole sum which Clive expended in this manner may be calculated at fifty thousand pounds.

He now set himself to cultivate parliamentary interest. His purchases of land seem to have been made in a great measure with that view, and, after the general election of 1761, he found himself in the House of Commons, at the head of a body of dependents whose support must have been important to any administration. In English politics, however, he did not take a prominent part. His first attachments, as we have seen, were to Mr. Fox; at a later period he was attracted by the genius and success of Mr. Pitt; but finally he connected himself in the closest manner with George Grenville. Early in the session of 1764, when the illegal and impolitic persecution of that worthless demagogue Wilkes had strongly excited the public mind, the town was amused by an anecdote, which we have seen in some unpublished memoirs of Horace Walpole. Old Mr. Richard Clive, who, since his son's elevation, had been introduced into society for which his former habits had not well fitted him, presented himself at the levee. The King asked him where Lord Clive was. "He will be in town very soon," said the old gentleman, loud enough to be heard by the whole circle, "and then your Majesty will have another vote."

But in truth all Clive's views were directed towards the country in which he had so eminently distinguished himself as a soldier and a statesman; and it was by considerations relating to India that his conduct as a public man in England was regulated. The power of the Company, though an anomaly, is in our time, we are firmly persuaded, a beneficial anomaly. In the time of Clive it was not merely an anomaly but a nuisance. There was no Board of Control. The Directors were for the most part mere traders, ignorant of general politics, ignorant of the peculiarities of the empire which had strangely become subject to them. The Court of Proprietors, wherever it chose to interfere, was able to have its way. That court was more numerous, as well as more powerful, than at present; for then every share of five hundred pounds conferred a vote. The meetings were large, stormy, even riotous, the debates indecently virulent. All the turbulence of a Westminster election, all the trickery and corruption of a Grampound election, disgraced the proceedings of this assembly on questions of the most solemn importance. Fictitious votes were manufactured on a gigantic scale. Clive himself laid out a hundred thousand pounds in the purchase of stock, which he then divided among nominal proprietors on whom he could depend, and whom he brought down in his train to every discussion and every ballot. Others did the same, though not to quite so enormous an extent.

The interest taken by the public of England in Indian questions was then far greater than at present, and the reason is obvious. At present a writer enters the service young; he climbs slowly; he is fortunate if, at forty-five, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand a year and with savings amounting to thirty thousand pounds. A great quantity of wealth is made by English functionaries in India, but no single functionary makes a very large fortune, and what is made is slowly, hardly, and honestly earned. Only four or five

high political offices are reserved for public men from England. The residencies, the secretaryships, the seats in the boards of revenue and in the Sudder courts, are all filled by men who have given the best years of life to the service of the Company; nor can any talents however splendid or any connections however powerful obtain these lucrative posts for any person who has not entered by the regular door and mounted by the regular gradations. Seventy years ago less money was brought home from the East than in our time; but it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons, and immense sums were often accumulated in a few months. Any Englishman, whatever his age might be, might hope to be one of the lucky emigrants. If he made a good speech in Leadenhall Street, or published a clever pamphlet in defense of the chairman, he might be sent out in the Company's service, and might return in three or four years as rich as Pigot or as Clive. Thus the India House was a lottery office, which invited everybody to take a chance, and held out ducal fortunes as the prizes destined for the lucky few. As soon as it was known that there was a part of the world where a lieutenant colonel had one morning received as a present an estate as large as that of the Earl of Bath or the Marquis of Rockingham, and where it seemed that such a trifle as ten or twenty thousand pounds was to be had by any British functionary for the asking, society began to exhibit all the symptoms of the South Sea year, — a feverish excitement, an ungovernable impatience to be rich, a contempt for slow, sure, and moderate gains.

At the head of the preponderating party in the India House had long stood a powerful, able, and ambitious director of the name of Sulivan. He had conceived a strong jealousy of Clive, and remembered with bitterness the audacity with which the late governor of Bengal had repeatedly set at nought the authority of the distant Directors of the Company. An apparent reconciliation took place after Clive's arrival, but enmity

remained deeply rooted in the hearts of both. The whole body of Directors was then chosen annually. At the election of 1763 Clive attempted to break down the power of the dominant faction. The contest was carried on with a violence which he describes as tremendous. Sulivan was victorious and hastened to take his revenge. The grant of rent which Clive had received from Meer Jaffier was, in the opinion of the best English lawyers, valid. It had been made by exactly the same authority from which the Company had received their chief possessions in Bengal, and the Company had long acquiesced in it. The Directors, however, most unjustly determined to confiscate it, and Clive was forced to file a bill in Chancery against them.

But a great and sudden turn in affairs was at hand. Every ship from Bengal had for some time brought alarming tidings. The internal misgovernment of the province had reached such a point that it could go no further. What, indeed, was to be expected from a body of public servants exposed to temptation such that, as Clive once said, flesh and blood could not bear it, armed with irresistible power, and responsible only to the corrupt, turbulent, distracted, ill-informed Company, situated at such a distance that the average interval between the sending of a dispatch and the receipt of an answer was above a year and a half? Accordingly during the five years which followed the departure of Clive from Bengal, the misgovernment of the English was carried to a point such as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society. The Roman proconsul, who, in a year or two, squeezed out of a province the means of rearing marble palaces and baths on the shores of Campania, of drinking from amber, of feasting on singing birds, of exhibiting armies of gladiators and flocks of camelopards; the Spanish viceroy, who, leaving behind him the curses of Mexico or Lima, entered Madrid with a long train of gilded coaches and of sumpter horses trapped and shod with silver, were now outdone.

Cruelty, indeed, properly so called, was not among the vices of the servants of the Company; but cruelty itself could hardly have produced greater evils than sprang from their unprincipled eagerness to be rich. They pulled down their creature, Meer Jaffier. They set up in his place another Nabob, named Meer Cossim. But Meer Cossim had talents and a will; and, though sufficiently inclined to oppress his subjects himself, he could not bear to see them ground to the dust by oppressions which yielded him no profit, nay, which destroyed his revenue in its very source. The English accordingly pulled down Meer Cossim and set up Meer Jaffier again; and Meer Cossim, after revenging himself by a massacre surpassing in atrocity that of the Black Hole, fled to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude. At every one of these revolutions the new prince divided among his foreign masters whatever could be scraped together from the treasury of his fallen predecessor. The immense population of his dominions was given up as a prey to those who had made him a sovereign and who could unmake him. The servants of the Company obtained, not for their employers but for themselves, a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and to sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependents who ranged through the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master; and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surajah Dowlah. Under their old masters they had at least one resource: when the evil became insupportable the people rose

and pulled down the Government. But the English Government was not to be shaken off. That Government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilization. It resembled the government of evil genii rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed, the hereditary nobility of mankind, whose skill and valor had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta; and the palanquin of the English traveler was often carried through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate.

The foreign lords of Bengal were naturally objects of hatred to all the neighboring powers; and to all the haughty race presented a dauntless front. Their armies, everywhere outnumbered, were everywhere victorious. A succession of commanders, formed in the school of Clive, still maintained the fame of their country. "It must be acknowledged," says the Mussulman historian of those times, "that this nation's presence of mind, firmness of temper, and undaunted bravery are past all question. They join the most resolute courage to the most cautious prudence; nor have they their equals in the art of ranging themselves in battle array and fighting in order. If to so many military qualifications they knew how to join the arts of government, if they exerted as much ingenuity and solicitude in relieving the people of God as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs, no nation in the world would be preferable to them, or worthier of command. But the people under their dominion groan everywhere, and are reduced to poverty and distress. O God! come to the assistance of thine afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions which they suffer."

It was impossible, however, that even the military establishment should long continue exempt from the vices which pervaded every other part of the Government. Rapacity, luxury, and the spirit of insubordination spread from the civil service to the officers of the army, and from the officers to the soldiers. The evil continued to grow till every mess room became the seat of conspiracy and cabal, and till the sepoys could be kept in order only by wholesale executions.

At length the state of things in Bengal began to excite uneasiness at home. A succession of revolutions; a disorganized administration; the natives pillaged, yet the Company not enriched; every fleet bringing back fortunate adventurers who were able to purchase manors and to build stately dwellings, yet bringing back also alarming accounts of the financial prospects of the Government; war on the frontiers; disaffection in the army; the national character disgraced by excesses resembling those of Verres and Pizarro; such was the spectacle which dismayed those who were conversant with Indian affairs. The general cry was that Clive, and Clive alone, could save the empire which he had founded.

This feeling manifested itself in the strongest manner at a very full General Court of Proprietors. Men of all parties, forgetting their feuds and trembling for their dividends, exclaimed that Clive was the man whom the crisis required, that the oppressive proceedings which had been adopted respecting his estate ought to be dropped, and that he ought to be entreated to return to India.

Clive rose. As to his estate, he said, he would make such propositions to the Directors as would, he trusted, lead to an amicable settlement. But there was a still greater difficulty. It was proper to tell them that he never would undertake the government of Bengal while his enemy, Sulivan, was chairman of the Company. The tumult was violent. Sulivan could scarcely obtain a hearing. An overwhelming majority of the

assembly was on Clive's side. Sulivan wished to try the result of a ballot. But, according to the by-laws of the Company, there can be no ballot except on a requisition signed by nine proprietors; and, though hundreds were present, nine persons could not be found to set their hands to such a requisition.

Clive was in consequence nominated Governor and Commander in chief of the British possessions in Bengal. But he adhered to his declaration, and refused to enter on his office till the event of the next election of Directors should be known. The contest was obstinate; but Clive triumphed. Sulivan, lately absolute master of the India House, was within a vote of losing his own seat; and both the chairman and the deputy chairman were friends of the new Governor.

Such were the circumstances under which Lord Clive sailed for the third and last time to India. In May, 1765, he reached Calcutta; and he found the whole machine of government even more fearfully disorganized than he had anticipated. Meer Jaffier, who had some time before lost his eldest son, Meeran, had died while Clive was on his voyage out. The English functionaries at Calcutta had already received from home strict orders not to accept presents from the native princes. But, eager for gain, and unaccustomed to respect the commands of their distant, ignorant, and negligent masters, they again set up the throne of Bengal to sale. About one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling was distributed among nine of the most powerful servants of the Company; and, in consideration of this bribe, an infant son of the deceased Nabob was placed on the seat of his father. The news of the ignominious bargain met Clive on his arrival. In a private letter written, immediately after his landing, to an intimate friend, he poured out his feelings in language which, proceeding from a man so daring, so resolute, and so little given to theatrical display of sentiment, seems to us singularly touching. "Alas!" he says, "how is the English name sunk! I could not avoid paying the tribute of a

few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation — irrecoverably so, I fear. However, I do declare, by that great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable if there be a hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy these great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt."

The Council met, and Clive stated to them his full determination to make a thorough reform, and to use for that purpose the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been confided to him. Johnstone, one of the boldest and worst men in the assembly, made some show of opposition. Clive interrupted him, and haughtily demanded whether he meant to question the power of the new Government. Johnstone was cowed, and disclaimed any such intention. All the faces round the board grew long and pale; and not another syllable of dissent was uttered.

Clive redeemed his pledge. He remained in India about a year and a half; and in that short time effected one of the most extensive, difficult, and salutary reforms that ever was accomplished by any statesman. This was the part of his life on which he afterwards looked back with most pride. He had it in his power to triple his already splendid fortune; to connive at abuses while pretending to remove them; to conciliate the good will of all the English in Bengal, by giving up to their rapacity a helpless and timid race, who knew not where lay the island which sent forth their oppressors, and whose complaints had little chance of being heard across fifteen thousand miles of ocean. He knew that, if he applied himself in earnest to the work of reformation, he should raise every bad passion in arms against him. He knew how unscrupulous, how implacable, would be the hatred of these ravenous adventurers, who, having counted on accumulating in a few months fortunes sufficient to support peerages, should find all their hopes

frustrated. But he had chosen the good part; and he called up all the force of his mind for a battle far harder than that of Plassey. At first success seemed hopeless; but soon all obstacles began to bend before that iron courage and that vehement will. The receiving of presents from the natives was rigidly prohibited. The private trade of the servants of the Company was put down. The whole settlement seemed to be set, as one man, against these measures. But the inexorable Governor declared that, if he could not find support at Fort William, he would procure it elsewhere, and sent for some civil servants from Madras to assist him in carrying on the administration. The most factious of his opponents he turned out of their offices. The rest submitted to what was inevitable; and in a very short time all resistance was quelled.

But Clive was far too wise a man not to see that the recent abuses were partly to be ascribed to a cause which could not fail to produce similar abuses as soon as the pressure of his strong hand was withdrawn. The Company had followed a mistaken policy with respect to the remuneration of its servants. The salaries were too low to afford even those indulgences which are necessary to the health and comfort of Europeans in a tropical climate. To lay by a rupee from such scanty pay was impossible. It could not be supposed that men of even average abilities would consent to pass the best years of life in exile, under a burning sun, for no other consideration than these stinted wages. It had accordingly been understood, from a very early period, that the Company's agents were at liberty to enrich themselves by their private trade. This practice had been seriously injurious to the commercial interests of the corporation. That very intelligent observer, Sir Thomas Roe, in the reign of James the First, strongly urged the Directors to apply a remedy to the abuse. "Absolutely prohibit the private trade," said he; "for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they come not for bare wages. But

you will take away this plea if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from."

In spite of this excellent advice, the Company adhered to the old system, paid low salaries, and connived at the indirect gains of the agents. The pay of a member of Council was only three hundred pounds a year. Yet it was notorious that such a functionary could not live in India for less than ten times that sum; and it could not be expected that he would be content to live even handsomely in India without laying up something against the time of his return to England. This system, before the conquest of Bengal, might affect the amount of the dividends payable to the proprietors, but could do little harm in any other way. But the Company was now a ruling body. Its servants might still be called factors, junior merchants, senior merchants. But they were in truth proconsuls, proprætors, procurators of extensive regions. They had immense power. Their regular pay was universally admitted to be insufficient. They were, by the ancient usage of the service and by the implied permission of their employers, warranted in enriching themselves by indirect means; and this had been the origin of the frightful oppression and corruption which had desolated Bengal. Clive saw clearly that it was absurd to give men power and to require them to live in penury. He justly concluded that no reform could be effectual which should not be coupled with a plan for liberally remunerating the civil servants of the Company. The Directors, he knew, were not disposed to sanction any increase of the salaries out of their own treasury. The only course which remained open to the Governor was one which exposed him to much misrepresentation, but which we think him fully justified in adopting. He appropriated to the support of the service the monopoly of salt, which has formed, down to our own time, a principal head of Indian revenue; and he divided the proceeds according to a scale which seems to have been not unreasonably fixed. He was in consequence accused by his enemies, and has been

accused by historians, of disobeying his instructions, of violating his promises, of authorizing that very abuse which it was his special mission to destroy, namely, the trade of the Company's servants. But every discerning and impartial judge will admit that there was really nothing in common between the system which he set up and that which he was sent to destroy. The monopoly of salt had been a source of revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born. It continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue; and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with their maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly but surely acquiring a competence. Yet such is the injustice of mankind that none of those acts which are the real stains of his life has drawn on him so much obloquy as this measure, which was in truth a reform necessary to the success of all his other reforms.

He had quelled the opposition of the civil service; that of the army was more formidable. Some of the retrenchments which had been ordered by the Directors affected the interests of the military service; and a storm arose, such as even Cæsar would not willingly have faced. It was no light thing to encounter the resistance of those who held the power of the sword, in a country governed only by the sword. Two hundred English officers engaged in a conspiracy against the Government and determined to resign their commissions on the same day, not doubting that Clive would grant any terms rather than see the army, on which alone the British empire in the East rested, left without commanders. They little knew the unconquerable spirit with which they had to deal. Clive had still a few officers round his person on whom he could rely. He sent to Fort St. George for a fresh supply. He gave commissions even to mercantile agents who

were disposed to support him at this crisis; and he sent orders that every officer who resigned should be instantly brought up to Calcutta. The conspirators found that they had miscalculated. The Governor was inexorable. The troops were steady. The sepoys, over whom Clive had always possessed extraordinary influence, stood by him with unshaken fidelity. The leaders in the plot were arrested, tried, and cashiered. The rest, humbled and dispirited, begged to be permitted to withdraw their resignations. Many of them declared their repentance even with tears. The younger offenders Clive treated with lenity. To the ringleaders he was inflexibly severe; but his severity was pure from all taint of private malevolence. While he sternly upheld the just authority of his office, he passed by personal insults and injuries with magnanimous disdain. One of the conspirators was accused of having planned the assassination of the Governor; but Clive would not listen to the charge. "The officers," he said, "are Englishmen, not assassins."

While he reformed the civil service and established his authority over the army, he was equally successful in his foreign policy. His landing on Indian ground was the signal for immediate peace. The Nabob of Oude, with a large army, lay at that time on the frontier of Bahar. He had been joined by many Afghans and Mahrattas, and there was no small reason to expect a general coalition of all the native powers against the English. But the name of Clive quelled in an instant all opposition. The enemy implored peace in the humblest language, and submitted to such terms as the new Governor chose to dictate.

At the same time the Government of Bengal was placed on a new footing. The power of the English in that province had hitherto been altogether undefined. It was unknown to the ancient constitution of the empire, and it had been ascertained by no compact. It resembled the power which, in the last decrepitude of the Western Empire, was exercised over Italy by the great chiefs of foreign mercenaries, the Ricimers and

the Odoacers, who put up and pulled down at their pleasure a succession of insignificant princes, dignified with the names of Cæsar and Augustus. But as in Italy, so in India, the warlike strangers at length found it expedient to give to a domination which had been established by arms the sanction of law and ancient prescription. Theodoric thought it politic to obtain from the distant court of Byzantium a commission appointing him ruler of Italy; and Clive, in the same manner, applied to the Court of Delhi for a formal grant of the powers of which he already possessed the reality. The Mogul was absolutely helpless, and, though he murmured, had reason to be well pleased that the English were disposed to give solid rupees, which he never could have extorted from them, in exchange for a few Persian characters which cost him nothing. A bargain was speedily struck; and the titular sovereign of Hindostan issued a warrant empowering the Company to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

There was still a Nabob, who stood to the British authorities in the same relation in which the last driveling Chilperics and Childerics of the Merovingian line stood to their able and vigorous Mayors of the Palace, to Charles Martel and to Pepin. At one time Clive had almost made up his mind to discard this phantom altogether; but he afterwards thought that it might be convenient still to use the name of the Nabob, particularly in dealings with other European nations. The French, the Dutch, and the Danes would, he conceived, submit far more readily to the authority of the native Prince, whom they had always been accustomed to respect, than to that of a rival trading corporation. This policy may, at that time, have been judicious. But the pretense was soon found to be too flimsy to impose on anybody; and it was altogether laid aside. The heir of Meer Jaffier still resides at Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of his house, still bears the title of Nabob, is still accosted by the English as "Your Highness," and is still suffered to retain a portion

of the regal state which surrounded his ancestors. A pension of a hundred and sixty thousand pounds a year is annually paid to him by the Government. His carriage is surrounded by guards and preceded by attendants with silver maces. His person and his dwelling are exempted from the ordinary authority of the ministers of justice. But he has not the smallest share of political power, and is, in fact, only a noble and wealthy subject of the Company.

It would have been easy for Clive, during his second administration in Bengal, to accumulate riches such as no subject in Europe possessed. He might indeed, without subjecting the rich inhabitants of the province to any pressure beyond that to which their mildest rulers had accustomed them, have received presents to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds a year. The neighboring princes would gladly have paid any price for his favor. But he appears to have strictly adhered to the rules which he had laid down for the guidance of others. The Rajah of Benares offered him diamonds of great value. The Nabob of Oude pressed him to accept a large sum of money and a casket of costly jewels. Clive courteously but peremptorily refused; and it should be observed that he made no merit of his refusal, and that the facts did not come to light till after his death. He kept an exact account of his salary, of his share of the profits accruing from the trade in salt, and of those presents which, according to the fashion of the East, it would be churlish to refuse. Out of the sum arising from these resources he defrayed the expenses of his situation. The surplus he divided among a few attached friends who had accompanied him to India. He always boasted, and, as far as we can judge, he boasted with truth, that his last administration diminished instead of increasing his fortune.

One large sum indeed he accepted. Meer Jaffier had left him by will above sixty thousand pounds sterling in specie and jewels; and the rules which had been recently laid down

extended only to presents from the living, and did not affect legacies from the dead. Clive took the money, but not for himself. He made the whole over to the Company, in trust for officers and soldiers invalided in their service. The fund which still bears his name owes its origin to this princely donation.

After a stay of eighteen months the state of his health made it necessary for him to return to Europe. At the close of January, 1767, he quitted for the last time the country on whose destinies he had exercised so mighty an influence.

His second return from Bengal was not, like his first, greeted by the acclamations of his countrymen. Numerous causes were already at work which embittered the remaining years of his life and hurried him to an untimely grave. His old enemies at the India House were still powerful and active; and they had been reënforced by a large band of allies whose violence far exceeded their own. The whole crew of pilferers and oppressors from whom he had rescued Bengal persecuted him with the implacable rancor which belongs to such abject natures. Many of them even invested their property in India stock, merely that they might be better able to annoy the man whose firmness had set bounds to their rapacity. Lying newspapers were set up for no purpose but to abuse him; and the temper of the public mind was then such, that these arts, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been ineffectual against truth and merit, produced an extraordinary impression.

The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent; they had generally been sent at an early age to the East; and they had there acquired large fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should exhibit some of the awkwardness and some of the pomposity of upstarts.

It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting, to persons who never had quitted Europe. It was natural that, having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home; and as they had money, and had not birth or high connection, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the single advantage which they possessed. Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry, similar to that which raged in France between the farmer-general and the marquis. This enmity to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the Company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Burke pronounced that among the Jacobins might be reckoned "the East Indians almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth."

The Nabobs soon became a most unpopular class of men. Some of them had in the East displayed eminent talents and rendered great services to the state; but at home their talents were not shown to advantage and their services were little known. That they had sprung from obscurity, that they had acquired great wealth, that they exhibited it insolently, that they spent it extravagantly, that they raised the price of everything in their neighborhood, from fresh eggs to rotten boroughs, that their liveries outshone those of dukes, that their coaches were finer than that of the Lord Mayor, that the examples of their large and ill-governed households corrupted half the servants in the country, that some of them, with all their magnificence, could not catch the tone of good society, but, in spite of the stud and the crowd of menials, of the plate and the Dresden china, of the venison and the Burgundy, were still low men; these were things which excited, both in the class from which they had sprung and in the class into which they attempted to force themselves, the bitter aversion which is the effect of

mingled envy and contempt. But when it was also rumored that the fortune which had enabled its possessor to eclipse the Lord Lieutenant on the race ground, or to carry the county against the head of a house as old as Domesday Book, had been accumulated by violating public faith, by deposing legitimate princes, by reducing whole provinces to beggary, all the higher and better as well as all the low and evil parts of human nature were stirred against the wretch who had obtained by guilt and dishonor the riches which he now lavished with arrogant and inelegant profusion. The unfortunate Nabob seemed to be made up of those foibles against which comedy has pointed the most merciless ridicule, and of those crimes which have thrown the deepest gloom over tragedy, of Turcaret and Nero, of Monsieur Jourdain and Richard the Third. A tempest of execration and derision, such as can be compared only to that outbreak of public feeling against the Puritans which took place at the time of the Restoration, burst on the servants of the Company. The humane man was horror-struck at the way in which they had got their money, the thrifty man at the way in which they spent it. The dilettante sneered at their want of taste. The macaroni black-balled them as vulgar fellows. Writers the most unlike in sentiment and style, Methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons, were for once on the same side. It is hardly too much to say that, during a space of about thirty years, the whole lighter literature of England was colored by the feelings which we have described. Foote brought on the stage an Anglo-Indian chief, dissolute, ungenerous, and tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered among them, squandering his wealth on panders and flatterers, tricking out his chairmen with the most costly hothouse flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and jaghires. Mackenzie, with more delicate humor, depicted a plain country family raised by the Indian acquisitions

of one of its members to sudden opulence, and exciting derision by an awkward mimicry of the manners of the great. Cowper, in that lofty expostulation which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India foremost in the list of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with the loss of her transatlantic empire. If any of our readers will take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or subvillain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nabob, with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart.

Such, as far as we can now judge, was the feeling of the country respecting Nabobs in general. And Clive was eminently the Nabob, the ablest, the most celebrated, the highest in rank, the highest in fortune, of all the fraternity. His wealth was exhibited in a manner which could not fail to excite odium. He lived with great magnificence in Berkeley Square. He reared one palace in Shropshire and another at Claremont. His parliamentary influence might vie with that of the greatest families. But in all this splendor and power envy found something to sneer at. On some of his relations wealth and dignity seem to have sat as awkwardly as on Mackenzie's Margery Mushroom. Nor was he himself, with all his great qualities, free from those weaknesses which the satirists of that age represented as characteristic of his whole class. In the field, indeed, his habits were remarkably simple. He was constantly on horseback, was never seen but in his uniform, never wore silk, never entered a palanquin, and was content with the plainest fare. But when he was no longer at the head of an army, he laid aside this Spartan temperance for the ostentatious luxury of a Sybarite. Though his person was ungraceful, and though his harsh features were redeemed from vulgar ugliness only by their stern, dauntless, and commanding

expression, he was fond of rich and gay clothing, and replenished his wardrobe with absurd profusion. Sir John Malcolm gives us a letter worthy of Sir Matthew Mite, in which Clive orders "two hundred shirts, the best and finest that can be got for love or money." A few follies of this description, grossly exaggerated by report, produced an unfavorable impression on the public mind. But this was not the worst. Black stories, of which the greater part were pure inventions, were circulated respecting his conduct in the East. He had to bear the whole odium not only of those bad acts to which he had once or twice stooped, but of all the bad acts of all the English in India; of bad acts committed when he was absent; nay, of bad acts which he had manfully opposed and severely punished. The very abuses against which he had waged an honest, resolute, and successful war were laid to his account. He was, in fact, regarded as the personification of all the vices and weaknesses which the public, with or without reason, ascribed to the English adventurers in Asia. We have ourselves heard old men, who knew nothing of his history, but who still retained the prejudices conceived in their youth, talk of him as an incarnate fiend. Johnson always held this language. Brown, whom Clive employed to lay out his pleasure grounds, was amazed to see in the house of his noble employer a chest which had once been filled with gold from the treasury of Moorshedabad, and could not understand how the conscience of the criminal could suffer him to sleep with such an object so near to his bedchamber. The peasantry of Surrey looked with mysterious horror on the stately house which was rising at Claremont, and whispered that the great wicked lord had ordered the walls to be made so thick in order to keep out the devil, who would one day carry him away bodily. Among the gaping clowns who drank in this frightful story was a worthless ugly lad of the name of Hunter, since widely known as William Huntington, S.S.; and the superstition which was

strangely mingled with the knavery of that remarkable impostor seems to have derived no small nutriment from the tales which he heard of the life and character of Clive.

In the meantime the impulse which Clive had given to the administration of Bengal was constantly becoming fainter and fainter. His policy was to a great extent abandoned; the abuses which he had suppressed began to revive; and at length the evils which a bad government had engendered were aggravated by one of those fearful visitations which the best government cannot avert. In the summer of 1770 the rains failed; the earth was parched up; the tanks were empty; the rivers shrank within their beds; and a famine, such as is known only in countries where every household depends for support on its own little patch of cultivation, filled the whole valley of the Ganges with misery and death. Tender and delicate women, whose veils had never been lifted before the public gaze, came forth from the inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy had kept watch over their beauty, threw themselves on the earth before the passers-by, and, with loud wailings, implored a handful of rice for their children. The Hoogley every day rolled down thousands of corpses close to the porticoes and gardens of the English conquerors. The very streets of Calcutta were blocked up by the dying and the dead. The lean and feeble survivors had not energy enough to bear the bodies of their kindred to the funeral pile or to the holy river, or even to scare away the jackals and vultures, who fed on human remains in the face of day. The extent of the mortality was never ascertained, but it was popularly reckoned by millions. This melancholy intelligence added to the excitement which already prevailed in England on Indian subjects. The proprietors of East India stock were uneasy about their dividends. All men of common humanity were touched by the calamities of our unhappy subjects; and indignation soon began to mingle

itself with pity. It was rumored that the Company's servants had created the famine by engrossing all the rice of the country; that they had sold grain for eight, ten, twelve times the price at which they had bought it; that one English functionary who, the year before, was not worth a hundred guineas, had, during that season of misery, remitted sixty thousand pounds to London. These charges we believe to have been unfounded. That servants of the Company had ventured, since Clive's departure, to deal in rice, is probable. That, if they dealt in rice, they must have gained by the scarcity, is certain. But there is no reason for thinking that they either produced or aggravated an evil which physical causes sufficiently explain. The outcry which was raised against them on this occasion was, we suspect, as absurd as the imputations which, in times of dearth at home, were once thrown by statesmen and judges, and are still thrown by two or three old women, on the corn factors. It was, however, so loud and so general that it appears to have imposed even on an intellect raised so high above vulgar prejudices as that of Adam Smith. What was still more extraordinary, these unhappy events greatly increased the unpopularity of Lord Clive. He had been some years in England when the famine took place. None of his measures had the smallest tendency to produce such a calamity. If the servants of the Company had traded in rice, they had done so in direct contravention of the rule which he had laid down, and, while in power, had resolutely enforced. But, in the eyes of his countrymen, he was, as we have said, the Nabob, the Anglo-Indian character personified; and, while he was building and planting in Surrey, he was held responsible for all the effects of a dry season in Bengal.

Parliament had hitherto bestowed very little attention on our Eastern possessions. Since the death of George the Second a rapid succession of weak administrations, each of

which was in turn flattered and betrayed by the Court, had held the semblance of power. Intrigues in the palace, riots in the capital, and insurrectionary movements in the American colonies had left the advisers of the Crown little leisure to study Indian politics. Where they did interfere, their interference was feeble and irresolute. Lord Chatham, indeed, during the short period of his ascendancy in the councils of George the Third, had meditated a bold and sweeping measure respecting the acquisitions of the Company. But his plans were rendered abortive by the strange malady which about that time began to overcloud his splendid genius.

At length, in 1772, it was generally felt that Parliament could no longer neglect the affairs of India. The Government was stronger than any which had held power since the breach between Mr. Pitt and the great Whig connection in 1761. No pressing question of domestic or European policy required the attention of public men. There was a short and delusive lull between two tempests. The excitement produced by the Middlesex election was over; the discontents of America did not yet threaten civil war; the financial difficulties of the Company brought on a crisis; the Ministers were forced to take up the subject; and the whole storm, which had long been gathering, now broke at once on the head of Clive.

His situation was indeed singularly unfortunate. He was hated throughout the country, hated at the India House, hated, above all, by those wealthy and powerful servants of the Company, whose rapacity and tyranny he had withstood. He had to bear the double odium of his bad and of his good actions, of every Indian abuse and of every Indian reform. The state of the political world was such that he could count on the support of no powerful connection. The party to which he had belonged, that of George Grenville, had been hostile to the Government, and yet had never cordially united with the other sections of the Opposition, with the little band which

still followed the fortunes of Lord Chatham, or with the large and respectable body of which Lord Rockingham was the acknowledged leader. George Grenville was now dead; his followers were scattered; and Clive, unconnected with any of the powerful factions which divided the Parliament, could reckon only on the votes of those members who were returned by himself. His enemies, particularly those who were the enemies of his virtues, were unscrupulous, ferocious, implacable. Their malevolence aimed at nothing less than the utter ruin of his fame and fortune. They wished to see him expelled from Parliament, to see his spurs chopped off, to see his estate confiscated; and it may be doubted whether even such a result as this would have quenched their thirst for revenge.

Clive's parliamentary tactics resembled his military tactics. Deserted, surrounded, outnumbered, and with everything at stake, he did not even deign to stand on the defensive, but pushed boldly forward to the attack. At an early stage of the discussions on Indian affairs he rose, and in a long and elaborate speech vindicated himself from a large part of the accusations which had been brought against him. He is said to have produced a great impression on his audience. Lord Chatham, who, now the ghost of his former self, loved to haunt the scene of his glory, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and declared that he had never heard a finer speech. It was subsequently printed under Clive's direction, and, when the fullest allowance has been made for the assistance which he may have obtained from literary friends, proves him to have possessed not merely strong sense and a manly spirit, but talents both for disquisition and declamation which assiduous culture might have improved into the highest excellence. He confined his defense on this occasion to the measures of his last administration, and succeeded so far that his enemies thenceforth thought it

expedient to direct their attacks chiefly against the earlier part of his life.

The earlier part of his life unfortunately presented some assailable points to their hostility. A committee was chosen by ballot to inquire into the affairs of India; and by this committee the whole history of that great revolution which threw down Surajah Dowlah and raised Meer Jaffier was sifted with malignant care. Clive was subjected to the most unsparing examination and cross-examination, and afterwards bitterly complained that he, the Baron of Plassey, had been treated like a sheep stealer. The boldness and ingenuousness of his replies would alone suffice to show how alien from his nature were the frauds to which, in the course of his Eastern negotiations, he had sometimes descended. He avowed the arts which he had employed to deceive Omichund, and resolutely said that he was not ashamed of them, and that in the same circumstances he would again act in the same manner. He admitted that he had received immense sums from Meer Jaffier; but he denied that in doing so he had violated any obligation of morality or honor. He laid claim, on the contrary, and not without some reason, to the praise of eminent disinterestedness. He described in vivid language the situation in which his victory had placed him; a great prince dependent on his pleasure; an opulent city afraid of being given up to plunder; wealthy bankers bidding against each other for his smiles; vaults piled with gold and jewels thrown open to him alone. "By God, Mr. Chairman," he exclaimed, "at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation."

The inquiry was so extensive that the Houses rose before it had been completed. It was continued in the following session. When at length the committee had concluded its labors, enlightened and impartial men had little difficulty in making up their minds as to the result. It was clear that Clive had been guilty of some acts which it is impossible

to vindicate without attacking the authority of all the most sacred laws which regulate the intercourse of individuals and of states. But it was equally clear that he had displayed great talents, and even great virtues; that he had rendered eminent services both to his country and to the people of India; and that it was in truth not for his dealings with Meer Jaffier nor for the fraud which he had practiced on Omichund, but for his determined resistance to avarice and tyranny, that he was now called in question.

Ordinary criminal justice knows nothing of set-off. The greatest desert cannot be pleaded in answer to a charge of the slightest transgression. If a man has sold beer on Sunday morning, it is no defense that he has saved the life of a fellow creature at the risk of his own. If he has harnessed a Newfoundland dog to his little child's carriage, it is no defense that he was wounded at Waterloo. But it is not in this way that we ought to deal with men who, raised far above ordinary restraints, and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to a more than ordinary measure of indulgence. Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed; and, if on the whole the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one not merely of acquittal but of approbation. Not a single great ruler in history can be absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts. Bruce the deliverer of Scotland, Maurice the deliverer of Germany, William the deliverer of Holland, his great descendant the deliverer of England, Murray the good regent, Cosmo the father of his country, Henry the Fourth of France, Peter the Great of Russia, how would the best of them pass such a scrutiny? History takes wider views; and the best tribunal for great political cases is the tribunal which anticipates the verdict of history.

Reasonable and moderate men of all parties felt this in Clive's case. They could not pronounce him blameless; but they were not disposed to abandon him to that low-minded and rancorous pack who had run him down and were eager to worry him to death. Lord North, though not very friendly to him, was not disposed to go to extremities against him. While the inquiry was still in progress, Clive, who had some years before been created a Knight of the Bath, was installed with great pomp in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. He was soon after appointed Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire. When he kissed hands, George the Third, who had always been partial to him, admitted him to a private audience, talked to him half an hour on Indian politics, and was visibly affected when the persecuted general spoke of his services and of the way in which they had been requited.

At length the charges came in a definite form before the House of Commons. Burgoyne, chairman of the committee, a man of wit, fashion, and honor, an agreeable dramatic writer, an officer whose courage was never questioned and whose skill was at that time highly esteemed, appeared as the accuser. The members of the administration took different sides; for in that age all questions were open questions, except such as were brought forward by the Government, or such as implied some censure on the Government. Thurlow, the Attorney-General, was among the assailants. Wedderburne, the Solicitor-General, strongly attached to Clive, defended his friend with extraordinary force of argument and language. It is a curious circumstance that, some years later, Thurlow was the most conspicuous champion of Warren Hastings, while Wedderburne was among the most unrelenting persecutors of that great though not faultless statesman. Clive spoke in his own defense at less length and with less art than in the preceding year, but with much energy and pathos. He recounted his great actions and his wrongs; and, after bidding his

hearers remember that they were about to decide not only on his honor but on their own, he retired from the House.

The Commons resolved that acquisitions made by the arms of the State belong to the State alone, and that it is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate such acquisitions to themselves. They resolved that this wholesome rule appeared to have been systematically violated by the English functionaries in Bengal. On a subsequent day they went a step farther, and resolved that Clive had, by means of the power which he possessed as commander of the British forces in India, obtained large sums from Meer Jaffier. Here the House stopped. They had voted the major and minor of Burgoyne's syllogism; but they shrank from drawing the logical conclusion. When it was moved that Lord Clive had abused his powers and set an evil example to the servants of the public, the previous question was put and carried. At length, long after the sun had risen on an animated debate, Wedderburne moved that Lord Clive had at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country; and this motion passed without a division.

The result of this memorable inquiry appears to us, on the whole, honorable to the justice, moderation, and discernment of the Commons. They had, indeed, no great temptation to do wrong. They would have been very bad judges of an accusation brought against Jenkinson or against Wilkes. But the question respecting Clive was not a party question; and the House accordingly acted with the good sense and good feeling which may always be expected from an assembly of English gentlemen not blinded by faction.

The equitable and temperate proceedings of the British Parliament were set off to the greatest advantage by a foil. The wretched government of Louis the Fifteenth had murdered, directly or indirectly, almost every Frenchman who had served his country with distinction in the East. Labourdonnais

was flung into the Bastille, and, after years of suffering, left it only to die. Dupleix, stripped of his immense fortune, and broken-hearted by humiliating attendance in antechambers, sank into an obscure grave. Lally was dragged to the common place of execution with a gag between his lips. The Commons of England, on the other hand, treated their living captain with that discriminating justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. They laid down sound general principles; they delicately pointed out where he had deviated from those principles; and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy. The contrast struck Voltaire, always partial to England, and always eager to expose the abuses of the Parliaments of France. Indeed, he seems, at this time, to have meditated a history of the conquest of Bengal. He mentioned his design to Dr. Moore when that amusing writer visited him at Ferney. Wedderburne took great interest in the matter and pressed Clive to furnish materials. Had the plan been carried into execution, we have no doubt that Voltaire would have produced a book containing much lively and picturesque narrative, many just and humane sentiments poignantly expressed, many grotesque blunders, many sneers at the Mosaic chronology, much scandal about the Catholic missionaries, and much sublime theophilanthropy, stolen from the New Testament and put into the mouths of virtuous and philosophical Brahmins.

Clive was now secure in the enjoyment of his fortune and his honors. He was surrounded by attached friends and relations; and he had not yet passed the season of vigorous bodily and mental exertion. But clouds had long been gathering over his mind, and now settled on it in thick darkness. From early youth he had been subject to fits of that strange melancholy "which rejoiceth exceedingly and is glad when it can find the grave." While still a writer at Madras he had twice attempted to destroy himself. Business and prosperity

had produced a salutary effect on his spirits. In India, while he was occupied by great affairs; in England, while wealth and rank had still the charm of novelty, he had borne up against his constitutional misery. But he had now nothing to do, and nothing to wish for. His active spirit in an inactive situation drooped and withered like a plant in an uncongenial air. The malignity with which his enemies had pursued him, the indignity with which he had been treated by the committee, the censure, lenient as it was, which the House of Commons had pronounced, the knowledge that he was regarded by a large portion of his countrymen as a cruel and perfidious tyrant, all concurred to irritate and depress him. In the meantime his temper was tried by acute physical suffering. During his long residence in tropical climates he had contracted several painful distempers. In order to obtain ease he called in the help of opium, and he was gradually enslaved by this treacherous ally. To the last, however, his genius occasionally flashed through the gloom. It is said that he would sometimes, after sitting silent and torpid for hours, rouse himself to the discussion of some great question, would display in full vigor all the talents of the soldier and the statesman, and would then sink back into his melancholy repose.

The disputes with America had now become so serious that an appeal to the sword seemed inevitable; and the Ministers were desirous to avail themselves of the services of Clive. Had he still been what he was when he raised the siege of Patna and annihilated the Dutch army and navy at the mouth of the Ganges, it is not improbable that the resistance of the Colonists would have been put down, and that the inevitable separation would have been deferred for a few years. But it was too late. His strong mind was fast sinking under many kinds of suffering. On the twenty-second of November, 1774, he died by his own hand. He had just completed his forty-ninth year.

In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices; and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contemplate the spectacle of a great mind ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honor, by fatal diseases, and more fatal remedies.

Clive committed great faults, and we have not attempted to disguise them. But his faults, when weighed against his merits, and viewed in connection with his temptations, do not appear to us to deprive him of his right to an honorable place in the estimation of posterity.

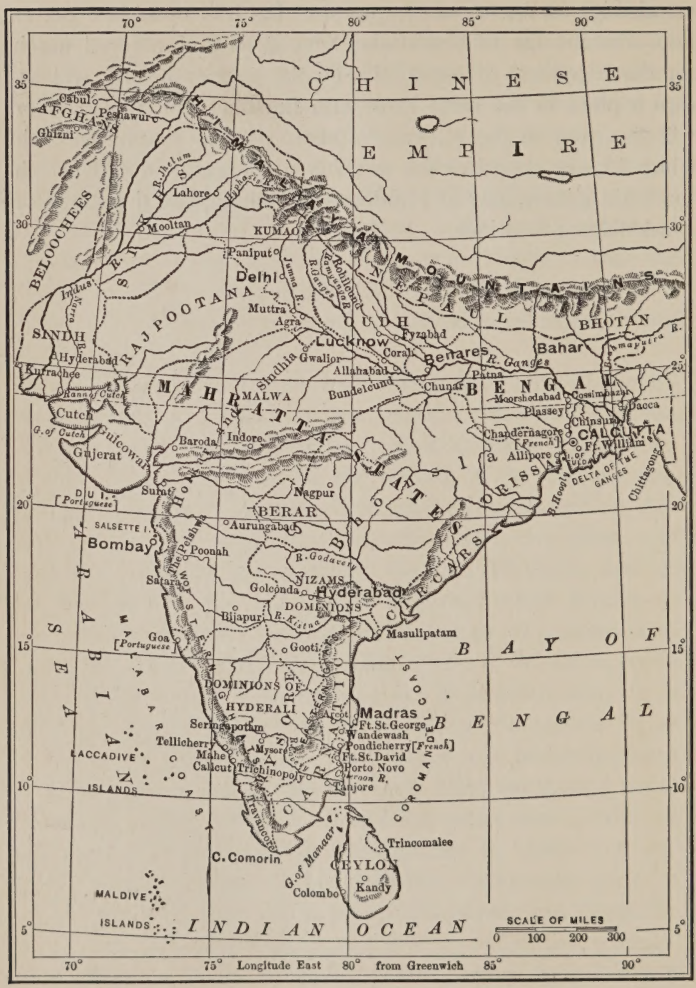
From his first visit to India dates the renown of the English arms in the East. Till he appeared, his countrymen were despised as mere peddlers, while the French were revered as a people formed for victory and command. His courage and capacity dissolved the charm. With the defense of Arcot commences that long series of Oriental triumphs which closes with the fall of Ghizni. Nor must we forget that he was only twenty-five years old when he approved himself ripe for military command. This is a rare if not a singular distinction. It is true that Alexander, Condé, and Charles the Twelfth won great battles at a still earlier age; but those princes were surrounded by veteran generals of distinguished skill, to whose suggestions must be attributed the victories of the Granicus, of Rocroi, and of Narva. Clive, an inexperienced youth, had yet more experience than any of those who served under him. He had to form himself, to form his officers, and to form his army. The only man, as far as we recollect, who at an equally early age ever gave equal proof of talents for war was Napoleon Bonaparte.

From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendancy of the English in that country. His dexterity and resolution

realized, in the course of a few months, more than all the gorgeous visions which had floated before the imagination of Dupleix. Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, were never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the Sacred Way, and through the crowded Forum, to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove. The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the splendor of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one half of a Roman legion.

From Clive's third visit to India dates the purity of the administration of our Eastern empire. When he landed in Calcutta in 1765 Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion, and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame, and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired. If the reproach of the Company and of its servants has been taken away; if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere the heaviest of all yokes, has been found lighter than that of any native dynasty; if to that gang of public robbers which formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal has succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness, and public spirit; if we now see such men as Munro, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, after leading victorious armies, after making and deposing kings, return, proud of their honorable poverty, from a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of boundless wealth, the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. His name

stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list, — in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.



INDIA IN 1785 AT THE CLOSE OF HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION

WARREN HASTINGS

This book seems to have been manufactured in pursuance of a contract, by which the representatives of Warren Hastings, on the one part, bound themselves to furnish papers, and Mr. Gleig, on the other part, bound himself to furnish praise. It is but just to say that the covenants on both sides have been most faithfully kept; and the result is before us in the form of three big bad volumes, full of undigested correspondence and undiscerning panegyric.

If it were worth while to examine this performance in detail, we could easily make a long article by merely pointing out inaccurate statements, inelegant expressions, and immoral doctrines. But it would be idle to waste criticism on a bookmaker; and whatever credit Mr. Gleig may have justly earned by former works, it is as a bookmaker, and nothing more, that he now comes before us. More eminent men than Mr. Gleig have written nearly as ill as he, when they have stooped to similar drudgery. It would be unjust to estimate Goldsmith by the "History of Greece," or Scott by the "Life of Napoleon." Mr. Gleig is neither a Goldsmith nor a Scott; but it would be unjust to deny that he is capable of something better than these Memoirs. It would also, we hope and believe, be unjust to charge any Christian minister with the guilt of deliberately maintaining some propositions which we find in this book. It is not too much to say that Mr. Gleig has written several passages which bear the same relation to "The Prince" of Machiavelli that "The Prince" of Machiavelli bears to "The Whole Duty of Man," and which would excite amazement in a den of robbers

or on board of a schooner of pirates. But we are willing to attribute these offenses to haste, to thoughtlessness, and to that disease of the understanding which may be called the *Furor Biographicus*, and which is to writers of lives what the goiter is to an Alpine shepherd, or dirt eating to a Negro slave.

We are inclined to think that we shall best meet the wishes of our readers, if, instead of dwelling on the faults of this book, we attempt to give, in a way necessarily hasty and imperfect, our own view of the life and character of Mr. Hastings. Our feeling towards him is not exactly that of the House of Commons which impeached him in 1787; neither is it that of the House of Commons which uncovered and stood up to receive him in 1813. He had great qualities and he rendered great services to the state. But to represent him as a man of stainless virtue is to make him ridiculous; and from regard for his memory, if from no other feeling, his friends would have done well to lend no countenance to such puerile adulation. We believe that, if he were now living, he would have sufficient judgment and sufficient greatness of mind to wish to be shown as he was. He must have known that there were dark spots on his fame. He might also have felt with pride that the splendor of his fame would bear many spots. He would have preferred, we are confident, even the severity of Mr. Mill to the puffing of Mr. Gleig. He would have wished posterity to have a likeness of him, though an unfavorable likeness, rather than a daub at once insipid and unnatural, resembling neither him nor anybody else. "Paint me as I am," said Oliver Cromwell, while sitting to young Lely. "If you leave out the scars and wrinkles, I will not pay you a shilling." Even in such a trifle the great Protector showed both his good sense and his magnanimity. He did not wish all that was characteristic in his countenance to be lost, in the vain attempt to give him the regular features and smooth, blooming cheeks of the curl-pated minions of James the First. He was content that his face should go forth marked with all

the blemishes which had been put on it by time, by war, by sleepless nights, by anxiety, perhaps by remorse; but with valor, policy, authority, and public care written in all its princely lines. If men truly great knew their own interest, it is thus that they would wish their minds to be portrayed.

Warren Hastings sprang from an ancient and illustrious race. It has been affirmed that his pedigree can be traced back to the great Danish sea king, whose sails were long the terror of both coasts of the British Channel, and who, after many fierce and doubtful struggles, yielded at last to the valor and genius of Alfred. But the undoubted splendor of the line of Hastings needs no illustration from fable. One branch of that line wore, in the fourteenth century, the coronet of Pembroke. From another branch sprang the renowned chamberlain, the faithful adherent of the White Rose, whose fate has furnished so striking a theme both to poets and to historians. His family received from the Tudors the earldom of Huntingdon, which, after long dispossession, was regained in our time by a series of events scarcely paralleled in romance.

The lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, claimed to be considered as the heads of this distinguished family. The main stock, indeed, prospered less than some of the younger shoots. But the Daylesford family, though not ennobled, was wealthy and highly considered, till, about two hundred years ago, it was overwhelmed by the great ruin of the civil war. The Hastings of that time was a zealous cavalier. He raised money on his lands, sent his plate to the mint at Oxford, joined the royal army, and, after spending half his property in the cause of King Charles, was glad to ransom himself by making over most of the remaining half to Speaker Lenthal. The old seat at Daylesford still remained in the family, but it could no longer be kept up, and in the following generation it was sold to a merchant of London.

Before this transfer took place the last Hastings of Daylesford had presented his second son to the rectory of the parish in which the ancient residence of the family stood. The living was of little value, and the situation of the poor clergyman after the sale of the estate was deplorable. He was constantly engaged in lawsuits about his tithes with the new lord of the manor, and was at length utterly ruined. His eldest son, Howard, a well-conducted young man, obtained a place in the Customs. The second son, Pynaston, an idle, worthless boy, married before he was sixteen, lost his wife in two years, and died in the West Indies, leaving to the care of his unfortunate father a little orphan, destined to strange and memorable vicissitudes of fortune.

Warren, the son of Pynaston, was born on the sixth of December, 1732. His mother died a few days later, and he was left dependent on his distressed grandfather. The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench with the sons of the peasantry. Nor did anything in his garb or fare indicate that his life was to take a widely different course from that of the young rustics with whom he studied and played. But no cloud could overcast the dawn of so much genius and so much ambition. The very plowmen observed, and long remembered, how kindly little Warren took to his book. The daily sight of the lands which his ancestors had possessed, and which had passed into the hands of strangers, filled his young brain with wild fancies and projects. He loved to hear stories of the wealth and greatness of his progenitors, of their splendid housekeeping, their loyalty, and their valor. On one bright summer day the boy, then just seven years old, lay on the bank of the rivulet which flows through the old domain of his house to join the Isis. There, as threescore and ten years later he told the tale, rose in his mind a scheme which, through all the turns of his eventful career, was never abandoned. He would recover the estate

which had belonged to his fathers. He would be Hastings of Daylesford. This purpose, formed in infancy and poverty, grew stronger as his intellect expanded and as his fortune rose. He pursued his plan with that calm but indomitable force of will which was the most striking peculiarity of his character. When, under a tropical sun, he ruled fifty millions of Asiatics, his hopes, amidst all the cares of war, finance, and legislation, still pointed to Daylesford. And when his long public life, so singularly checkered with good and evil, with glory and obloquy, had at length closed forever, it was to Daylesford that he retired to die.

When he was eight years old his uncle Howard determined to take charge of him and to give him a liberal education. The boy went up to London and was sent to a school at Newington, where he was well taught but ill fed. He always attributed the smallness of his stature to the hard and scanty fare of this seminary. At ten he was removed to Westminster School, then flourishing under the care of Dr. Nichols. Vinny Bourne, as his pupils affectionately called him, was one of the masters. Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, Cowper, were among the students. With Cowper, Hastings formed a friendship which neither the lapse of time nor a wide dissimilarity of opinions and pursuits could wholly dissolve. It does not appear that they ever met after they had grown to manhood. But forty years later, when the voices of many great orators were crying for vengeance on the oppressor of India, the shy and secluded poet could image to himself Hastings the Governor-General only as the Hastings with whom he had rowed on the Thames and played in the cloister, and refused to believe that so good-tempered a fellow could have done anything very wrong. His own life had been spent in praying, musing, and riming among the water lilies of the Ouse. He had preserved in no common measure the innocence of childhood. His spirit had indeed been severely tried, but not by temptations which impelled him to any gross violation of the rules of social morality. He had

never been attacked by combinations of powerful and deadly enemies. He had never been compelled to make a choice between innocence and greatness, between crime and ruin. Firmly as he held in theory the doctrine of human depravity, his habits were such that he was unable to conceive how far from the path of right even kind and noble natures may be hurried by the rage of conflict and the lust of dominion.

Hastings had another associate at Westminster of whom we shall have occasion to make frequent mention, Elijah Impey. We know little about their school days. But we think we may safely venture to guess that, whenever Hastings wished to play any trick more than usually naughty, he hired Impey, with a tart or a ball, to act as fag in the worst part of the prank.

Warren was distinguished among his comrades as an excellent swimmer, boatman, and scholar. At fourteen he was first in the examination for the foundation. His name in gilded letters on the walls of the dormitory still attests his victory over many older competitors. He stayed two years longer at the school, and was looking forward to a studentship at Christ Church, when an event happened which changed the whole course of his life. Howard Hastings died, bequeathing his nephew to the care of a friend and distant relation, named Chiswick. This gentleman, though he did not absolutely refuse the charge, was desirous to rid himself of it as soon as possible. Dr. Nichols made strong remonstrances against the cruelty of interrupting the studies of a youth who seemed likely to be one of the first scholars of the age. He even offered to bear the expense of sending his favorite pupil to Oxford. But Mr. Chiswick was inflexible. He thought the years which had already been wasted on hexameters and pentameters quite sufficient. He had it in his power to obtain for the lad a writership in the service of the East India Company. Whether the young adventurer, when once shipped off, made a fortune or died of a liver complaint, he equally ceased to be a burden to anybody. Warren was

accordingly removed from Westminster School and placed for a few months at a commercial academy to study arithmetic and bookkeeping. In January, 1750, a few days after he had completed his seventeenth year, he sailed for Bengal and arrived at his destination in the October following.

He was immediately placed at a desk in the Secretary's office at Calcutta, and labored there during two years. Fort William was then a purely commercial settlement. In the south of India the encroaching policy of Dupleix had transformed the servants of the English Company, against their will, into diplomatists and generals. The war of the succession was raging in the Carnatic; and the tide had been suddenly turned against the French by the genius of young Robert Clive. But in Bengal the European settlers, at peace with the natives and with each other, were wholly occupied with ledgers and bills of lading.

After two years passed in keeping accounts at Calcutta, Hastings was sent up the country to Cossimbazar, a town which lies on the Hoogley, about a mile from Moorshedabad, and which then bore to Moorshedabad a relation, if we may compare small things with great, such as the city of London bears to Westminster. Moorshedabad was the abode of the prince who, by an authority ostensibly derived from the Mogul, but really independent, ruled the three great provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. At Moorshedabad were the court, the harem, and the public offices. Cossimbazar was a port and a place of trade, renowned for the quantity and excellence of the silks which were sold in its marts, and constantly receiving and sending forth fleets of richly laden barges. At this important point the Company had established a small factory subordinate to that of Fort William. Here, during several years, Hastings was employed in making bargains for stuffs with native brokers. While he was thus engaged Surajah Dowlah succeeded to the Government and declared war against the English. The defenseless settlement of Cossimbazar, lying close to the tyrant's capital,

was instantly seized. Hastings was sent a prisoner to Moorshedabad, but, in consequence of the humane intervention of the servants of the Dutch Company, was treated with indulgence. Meanwhile the Nabob marched on Calcutta; the Governor and the commandant fled; the town and citadel were taken, and most of the English prisoners perished in the Black Hole.

In these events originated the greatness of Warren Hastings. The fugitive Governor and his companions had taken refuge on the dreary islet of Fulda, near the mouth of the Hoogley. They were naturally desirous to obtain full information respecting the proceedings of the Nabob; and no person seemed so likely to furnish it as Hastings, who was a prisoner at large in the immediate neighborhood of the court. He thus became a diplomatic agent and soon established a high character for ability and resolution. The treason which at a later period was fatal to Surajah Dowlah was already in progress; and Hastings was admitted to the deliberations of the conspirators. But the time for striking had not arrived. It was necessary to postpone the execution of the design; and Hastings, who was now in extreme peril, fled to Fulda.

Soon after his arrival at Fulda the expedition from Madras, commanded by Clive, appeared in the Hoogley. Warren, young, intrepid, and excited probably by the example of the commander of the forces who, having like himself been a mercantile agent of the Company, had been turned by public calamities into a soldier, determined to serve in the ranks. During the early operations of the war he carried a musket. But the quick eye of Clive soon perceived that the head of the young volunteer would be more useful than his arm. When, after the battle of Plassey, Meer Jaffier was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Hastings was appointed to reside at the court of the new prince as agent for the Company.

He remained at Moorshedabad till the year 1761, when he became a member of Council, and was consequently forced to

reside at Calcutta. This was during the interval between Clive's first and second administration, an interval which has left on the fame of the East India Company a stain not wholly effaced by many years of just and humane government. Mr. Vansittart, the Governor, was at the head of a new and anomalous empire. On the one side was a band of English functionaries, daring, intelligent, eager to be rich. On the other side was a great native population, helpless, timid, accustomed to crouch under oppression. To keep the stronger race from preying on the weaker was an undertaking which tasked to the utmost the talents and energy of Clive. Vansittart, with fair intentions, was a feeble and inefficient ruler. The master caste, as was natural, broke loose from all restraint; and then was seen what we believe to be the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of civilization without its mercy. To all other despotism there is a check, imperfect indeed, and liable to gross abuse, but still sufficient to preserve society from the last extreme of misery. A time comes when the evils of submission are obviously greater than those of resistance, when fear itself begets a sort of courage, when a convulsive burst of popular rage and despair warns tyrants not to presume too far on the patience of mankind. But against misgovernment such as then afflicted Bengal it was impossible to struggle. The superior intelligence and energy of the dominant class made their power irresistible. A war of Bengalese against Englishmen was like a war of sheep against wolves, of men against demons. The only protection which the conquered could find was in the moderation, the clemency, the enlarged policy of the conquerors. That protection, at a later period, they found. But at first English power came among them unaccompanied by English morality. There was an interval between the time at which they became our subjects, and the time at which we began to reflect that we were bound to discharge towards them the duties of rulers. During that interval the business of a servant of the Company was simply to wring

out of the natives a hundred or two hundred thousand pounds as speedily as possible, that he might return home before his constitution had suffered from the heat, to marry a peer's daughter, to buy rotten boroughs in Cornwall, and to give balls in St. James's Square. Of the conduct of Hastings at this time little is known; but the little that is known, and the circumstance that little is known, must be considered as honorable to him. He could not protect the natives; all that he could do was to abstain from plundering and oppressing them; and this he appears to have done. It is certain that at this time he continued poor; and it is equally certain that by cruelty and dishonesty he might easily have become rich. It is certain that he was never charged with having borne a share in the worst abuses which then prevailed; and it is almost equally certain that, if he had borne a share in those abuses, the able and bitter enemies who afterwards persecuted him would not have failed to discover and to proclaim his guilt. The keen, severe, and even malevolent scrutiny to which his whole public life was subjected, — a scrutiny unparalleled, as we believe, in the history of mankind, — is in one respect advantageous to his reputation. It brought many lamentable blemishes to light; but it entitles him to be considered pure from every blemish which has not been brought to light.

The truth is that the temptations to which so many English functionaries yielded in the time of Mr. Vansittart were not temptations addressed to the ruling passions of Warren Hastings. He was not squeamish in pecuniary transactions; but he was neither sordid nor rapacious. He was far too enlightened a man to look on a great empire merely as a buccaneer would look on a galleon. Had his heart been much worse than it was, his understanding would have preserved him from that extremity of baseness. He was an unscrupulous, perhaps an unprincipled, statesman; but still he was a statesman, and not a freebooter.

In 1764 Hastings returned to England. He had realized only a very moderate fortune; and that moderate fortune was soon reduced to nothing, partly by his praiseworthy liberality and partly by his mismanagement. Towards his relations he appears to have acted very generously. The greater part of his savings he left in Bengal, hoping probably to obtain the high usury of India. But high usury and bad security generally go together; and Hastings lost both interest and principal.

He remained four years in England. Of his life at this time very little is known. But it has been asserted, and is highly probable, that liberal studies and the society of men of letters occupied a great part of his time. It is to be remembered to his honor, that in days when the languages of the East were regarded by other servants of the Company merely as the means of communicating with weavers and money changers, his enlarged and accomplished mind sought in Asiatic learning for new forms of intellectual enjoyment, and for new views of government and society. Perhaps, like most persons who have paid much attention to departments of knowledge which lie out of the common track, he was inclined to overrate the value of his favorite studies. He conceived that the cultivation of Persian literature might with advantage be made a part of the liberal education of an English gentleman; and he drew up a plan with that view. It is said that the University of Oxford, in which Oriental learning had never, since the revival of letters, been wholly neglected, was to be the seat of the institution which he contemplated. An endowment was expected from the munificence of the Company; and professors thoroughly competent to interpret Hafiz and Ferdusi were to be engaged in the East. Hastings called on Johnson, with the hope, as it should seem, of interesting in this project a man who enjoyed the highest literary reputation, and who was particularly connected with Oxford. The

interview appears to have left on Johnson's mind a most favorable impression of the talents and attainments of his visitor. Long after, when Hastings was ruling the immense population of British India, the old philosopher wrote to him, and referred in the most courtly terms, though with great dignity, to their short but agreeable intercourse.

Hastings soon began to look again towards India. He had little to attach him to England; and his pecuniary embarrassments were great. He solicited his old masters, the Directors, for employment. They acceded to his request, with high compliments both to his abilities and to his integrity, and appointed him a member of Council at Madras. It would be unjust not to mention that, though forced to borrow money for his outfit, he did not withdraw any portion of the sum which he had appropriated to the relief of his distressed relations. In the spring of 1769 he embarked on board of the *Duke of Grafton*, and commenced a voyage distinguished by incidents which might furnish matter for a novel.

Among the passengers in the *Duke of Grafton* was a German of the name of Imhoff. He called himself a baron; but he was in distressed circumstances, and was going out to Madras as a portrait painter, in the hope of picking up some of the pagodas which were then lightly got and as lightly spent by the English in India. The baron was accompanied by his wife, a native, we have somewhere read, of Archangel. This young woman who, born under the Arctic circle, was destined to play the part of a queen under the tropic of Cancer, had an agreeable person, a cultivated mind, and manners in the highest degree engaging. She despised her husband heartily, and, as the story which we have to tell sufficiently proves, not without reason. She was interested by the conversation and flattered by the attentions of Hastings. The situation was indeed perilous. No place is so propitious to the formation either of close friendships or of deadly

enmities as an Indiaman. There are very few people who do not find a voyage which lasts several months insupportably dull. Anything is welcome which may break that long monotony, — a sail, a shark, an albatross, a man overboard. Most passengers find some resource in eating twice as many meals as on land. But the great devices for killing the time are quarreling and flirting. The facilities for both these exciting pursuits are great. The inmates of the ship are thrown together far more than in any country seat or boarding house. None can escape from the rest except by imprisoning himself in a cell in which he can hardly turn. All food, all exercise, are taken in company. Ceremony is to a great extent banished. It is every day in the power of a mischievous person to inflict innumerable annoyances; it is every day in the power of an amiable person to confer little services. It not seldom happens that serious distress and danger call forth in genuine beauty and deformity heroic virtues and abject vices which, in the ordinary intercourse of good society, might remain during many years unknown even to intimate associates. Under such circumstances met Warren Hastings and the Baroness Imhoff, two persons whose accomplishments would have attracted notice in any court of Europe. The gentleman had no domestic ties. The lady was tied to a husband for whom she had no regard, and who had no regard for his own honor. An attachment sprang up, which was soon strengthened by events such as could hardly have occurred on land. Hastings fell ill. The baroness nursed him with womanly tenderness, gave him his medicines with her own hand, and even sat up in his cabin while he slept. Long before the *Duke of Grafton* reached Madras, Hastings was in love. But his love was of a most characteristic description. Like his hatred, like his ambition, like all his passions, it was strong but not impetuous. It was calm, deep, earnest, patient of delay, unconquerable by time. Imhoff was called into council by his wife and his wife's lover.

It was arranged that the baroness should institute a suit for a divorce in the courts of Franconia, that the baron should afford every facility to the proceeding, and that, during the years which might elapse before the sentence should be pronounced, they should continue to live together. It was also agreed that Hastings should bestow some very substantial marks of gratitude on the complaisant husband, and should, when the marriage was dissolved, make the lady his wife, and adopt the children whom she had already borne to Imhoff.

We are not inclined to judge either Hastings or the baroness severely. There was undoubtedly much to extenuate their fault. But we can by no means concur with the Reverend Mr. Gleig, who carries his partiality to so injudicious an extreme as to describe the conduct of Imhoff — conduct the baseness of which is the best excuse for the lovers — as "wise and judicious."

At Madras, Hastings found the trade of the Company in a very disorganized state. His own tastes would have led him rather to political than to commercial pursuits, but he knew that the favor of his employers depended chiefly on their dividends, and that their dividends depended chiefly on the investment. He therefore, with great judgment, determined to apply his vigorous mind for a time to this department of business, which had been much neglected since the servants of the Company had ceased to be clerks and had become warriors and negotiators.

In a very few months he effected an important reform. The Directors notified to him their high approbation, and were so much pleased with his conduct that they determined to place him at the head of the Government of Bengal. Early in 1772 he quitted Fort St. George for his new post. The Imhoffs, who were still man and wife, accompanied him, and lived at Calcutta "on the same wise and judicious plan," — we quote the words of Mr. Gleig, — which they had already followed during more than two years.

When Hastings took his seat at the head of the council board, Bengal was still governed according to the system which Clive had devised, — a system which was, perhaps, skillfully contrived for the purpose of facilitating and concealing a great revolution, but which, when that revolution was complete and irrevocable, could produce nothing but inconvenience. There were two governments, the real and the ostensible. The supreme power belonged to the Company, and was in truth the most despotic power that can be conceived. The only restraint on the English masters of the country was that which their own justice and humanity imposed on them. There was no constitutional check on their will, and resistance to them was utterly hopeless.

But, though thus absolute in reality, the English had not yet assumed the style of sovereignty. They held their territories as vassals of the throne of Delhi; they raised their revenues as collectors appointed by the imperial commission; their public seal was inscribed with the imperial titles; and their mint struck only the imperial coin.

There was still a Nabob of Bengal, who stood to the English rulers of his country in the same relation in which Augustulus stood to Odoacer, or the last Merovingians to Charles Martel and Pepin. He lived at Moorshedabad, surrounded by princely magnificence. He was approached with outward marks of reverence, and his name was used in public instruments. But in the government of the country he had less real share than the youngest writer or cadet in the Company's service.

The English Council which represented the Company at Calcutta was constituted on a very different plan from that which has since been adopted. At present the Governor is, as to all executive measures, absolute. He can declare war, conclude peace, appoint public functionaries or remove them, in opposition to the unanimous sense of those who sit with

him in council. They are, indeed, entitled to know all that is done, to discuss all that is done, to advise, to remonstrate, to send protests to England. But it is with the Governor that the supreme power resides, and on him that the whole responsibility rests. This system, which was introduced by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas in spite of the strenuous opposition of Mr. Burke, we conceive to be on the whole the best that was ever devised for the government of a country where no materials can be found for a representative constitution. In the time of Hastings the Governor had only one vote in council, and, in case of an equal division, a casting vote. It therefore happened not infrequently that he was overruled on the gravest questions; and it was possible that he might be wholly excluded, for years together, from the real direction of public affairs.

The English functionaries at Fort William had as yet paid little or no attention to the internal government of Bengal. The only branch of politics about which they much busied themselves was negotiation with the native princes. The police, the administration of justice, the details of the collection of revenue, they almost entirely neglected. We may remark that the phraseology of the Company's servants still bears the traces of this state of things. To this day they always use the word "political" as synonymous with "diplomatic." We could name a gentleman still living who was described by the highest authority as an invaluable public servant, eminently fit to be at the head of the internal administration of a whole presidency, but unfortunately quite ignorant of all political business.

The internal government of Bengal the English rulers delegated to a great native minister, who was stationed at Moorshedabad. All military affairs, and, with the exception of what pertains to mere ceremonial, all foreign affairs, were withdrawn from his control; but the other departments of the administration

were entirely confided to him. His own stipend amounted to near a hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. The personal allowance of the nabobs, amounting to more than three hundred thousand pounds a year, passed through the minister's hands, and was, to a great extent, at his disposal. The collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, were left to this high functionary; and for the exercise of his immense power he was responsible to none but the British masters of the country.

A situation so important, lucrative, and splendid was naturally an object of ambition to the ablest and most powerful natives. Clive had found it difficult to decide between conflicting pretensions. Two candidates stood out prominently from the crowd, each of them the representative of a race and of a religion.

The one was Mohammed Reza Khan, a Mussulman of Persian extraction, able, active, religious after the fashion of his people, and highly esteemed by them. In England he might perhaps have been regarded as a corrupt and greedy politician. But, tried by the lower standard of Indian morality, he might be considered as a man of integrity and honor.

His competitor was a Hindoo Brahmin whose name has, by a terrible and melancholy event, been inseparably associated with that of Warren Hastings, the Maharajah Nuncomar. This man had played an important part in all the revolutions which, since the time of Surajah Dowlah, had taken place in Bengal. To the consideration which in that country belongs to high and pure caste, he added the weight which is derived from wealth, talents, and experience. Of his moral character it is difficult to give a notion to those who are acquainted with human nature only as it appears in our island. What the Italian is to the Englishman, what the Hindoo is to the Italian, what the Bengalese is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar to other Bengalese. The physical organization of

the Bengalese is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapor bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, veracity, are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavorable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness, for purposes of manly resistance; but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration not unmingled with contempt. All those arts which are the natural defense of the weak are more familiar to this subtle race than to the Ionian of the time of Juvenal, or to the Jew of the dark ages. What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song, is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalese. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges. All those millions do not furnish one sepoy to the armies of the Company. But as usurers, as money changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness, the Bengalese is by no means placable in his enmities or prone to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres to his purposes yields only to the immediate pressure of fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage which is often wanting in his masters. To inevitable evils he is sometimes found to oppose a passive fortitude, such as the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage. A European warrior who rushes on a battery of cannon with a loud hurrah will sometimes shriek under the surgeon's knife and fall into an agony of despair at the sentence of death. But the Bengalese who would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonored, without having the spirit to

strike one blow, has yet been known to endure torture with the firmness of Mucius, and to mount the scaffold with the steady step and even pulse of Algernon Sydney.

In Nuncomar the national character was strongly and with exaggeration personified. The Company's servants had repeatedly detected him in the most criminal intrigues. On one occasion he brought a false charge against another Hindoo and tried to substantiate it by producing forged documents. On another occasion it was discovered that, while professing the strongest attachment to the English, he was engaged in several conspiracies against them, and in particular that he was the medium of a correspondence between the Court of Delhi and the French authorities in the Carnatic. For these and similar practices he had been long detained in confinement. But his talents and influence had not only procured his liberation, but had obtained for him a certain degree of consideration even among the British rulers of his country.

Clive was extremely unwilling to place a Mussulman at the head of the administration of Bengal. On the other hand, he could not bring himself to confer immense power on a man to whom every sort of villany had repeatedly been brought home. Therefore, though the Nabob, over whom Nuncomar had by intrigue acquired great influence, begged that the artful Hindoo might be intrusted with the Government, Clive, after some hesitation, decided honestly and wisely in favor of Mohammed Reza Khan, who had held his high office seven years when Hastings became Governor. An infant son of Meer Jaffier was now Nabob; and the guardianship of the young prince's person had been confided to the minister.

Nuncomar, stimulated at once by cupidity and malice, had been constantly attempting to undermine his successful rival. This was not difficult. The revenues of Bengal, under the administration established by Clive, did not yield such a surplus as had been anticipated by the Company; for, at that time,

the most absurd notions were entertained in England respecting the wealth of India. Palaces of porphyry, hung with the richest brocade, heaps of pearls and diamonds, vaults from which pagodas and gold mohurs were measured out by the bushel, filled the imagination even of men of business. Nobody seemed to be aware of what nevertheless was most undoubtedly the truth, that India was a poorer country than countries which in Europe are reckoned poor, — than Ireland, for example, or than Portugal. It was confidently believed by lords of the treasury and members for the city that Bengal would not only defray its own charges, but would afford an increased dividend to the proprietors of India stock and large relief to the English finances. These absurd expectations were disappointed; and the directors naturally enough chose to attribute the disappointment rather to the mismanagement of Mohammed Reza Khan than to their own ignorance of the country intrusted to their care. They were confirmed in their error by the agents of Nuncomar; for Nuncomar had agents even in Leadenhall Street. Soon after Hastings reached Calcutta he received a letter addressed by the Court of Directors, not to the Council generally, but to himself in particular. He was directed to remove Mohammed Reza Khan, to arrest him, together with all his family and all his partisans, and to institute a strict inquiry into the whole administration of the province. It was added that the Governor would do well to avail himself of the assistance of Nuncomar in the investigation. The vices of Nuncomar were acknowledged. But even from his vices, it was said, much advantage might at such a conjuncture be derived; and, though he could not safely be trusted, it might still be proper to encourage him by hopes of reward.

The Governor bore no good will to Nuncomar. Many years before, they had known each other at Moorshedabad; and then a quarrel had risen between them which all the authority of their superiors could hardly compose. Widely as they

differed in most points, they resembled each other in this, that both were men of unforgiving natures. To Mohammed Reza Khan, on the other hand, Hastings had no feelings of hostility. Nevertheless he proceeded to execute the instructions of the Company with an alacrity which he never showed except when instructions were in perfect conformity with his own views. He had, wisely as we think, determined to get rid of the system of double government in Bengal. The orders of the Directors furnished him with the means of effecting his purpose and dispensed him from the necessity of discussing the matter with his council. He took his measures with his usual vigor and dexterity. At midnight the palace of Mohammed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad was surrounded by a battalion of sepoys. The minister was roused from his slumbers and informed that he was a prisoner. With the Mussulman gravity he bent his head and submitted himself to the will of God. He fell not alone. A chief named Schitab Roy had been intrusted with the Government of Bahar. His valor and his attachment to the English had more than once been signally proved. On that memorable day on which the people of Patna saw from their walls the whole army of the Mogul scattered by the little band of Captain Knox, the voice of the British conquerors assigned the palm of gallantry to the brave Asiatic. "I never," said Knox, when he introduced Schitab Roy, covered with blood and dust, to the English functionaries assembled in the factory, "I never saw a native fight so before." Schitab Roy was involved in the ruin of Mohammed Reza Khan, was removed from office, and was placed under arrest. The members of the Council received no intimation of these measures till the prisoners were on their road to Calcutta.

The inquiry into the conduct of the minister was postponed on different pretenses. He was detained in an easy confinement during many months. In the meantime the great revolution which Hastings had planned was carried into effect. The

office of minister was abolished. The internal administration was transferred to the servants of the Company. A system — a very imperfect system, it is true — of civil and criminal justice, under English superintendence, was established. The Nabob was no longer to have even an ostensible share in the Government; but he was still to receive a considerable annual allowance and to be surrounded with the state of sovereignty. As he was an infant, it was necessary to provide guardians for his person and property. His person was intrusted to a lady of his father's harem, known by the name of the Munny Begum. The office of treasurer of the household was bestowed on a son of Nuncomar, named Goordas. Nuncomar's services were wanted, yet he could not safely be trusted with power; and Hastings thought it a master stroke of policy to reward the able and unprincipled parent by promoting the inoffensive child.

The revolution completed, the double government dissolved, the Company installed in the full sovereignty of Bengal, Hastings had no motive to treat the late ministers with rigor. Their trial had been put off on various pleas till the new organization was complete. They were then brought before a committee, over which the Governor presided. Schitab Roy was speedily acquitted with honor. A formal apology was made to him for the restraint to which he had been subjected. All the Eastern marks of respect were bestowed on him. He was clothed in a robe of state, presented with jewels and with a richly harnessed elephant, and sent back to his government at Patna. But his health had suffered from confinement; his high spirit had been cruelly wounded; and soon after his liberation he died of a broken heart.

The innocence of Mohammed Reza Khan was not so clearly established. But the Governor was not disposed to deal harshly. After a long hearing, in which Nuncomar appeared as the accuser, and displayed both the art and the inveterate rancor which distinguished him, Hastings pronounced that the charges

had not been made out, and ordered the fallen minister to be set at liberty.

Nuncomar had purposed to destroy the Mussulman administration and to rise on its ruin. Both his malevolence and his cupidity had been disappointed. Hastings had made him a tool, had used him for the purpose of accomplishing the transfer of the government from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, from native to European hands. The rival, the enemy, so long envied, so implacably persecuted, had been dismissed unhurt. The situation so long and ardently desired had been abolished. It was natural that the Governor should be from that time an object of the most intense hatred to the vindictive Brahmin. As yet, however, it was necessary to suppress such feelings. The time was coming when that long animosity was to end in a desperate and deadly struggle.

In the meantime Hastings was compelled to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The object of his diplomacy was at this time simply to get money. The finances of his government were in an embarrassed state; and this embarrassment he was determined to relieve by some means, fair or foul. The principle which directed all his dealings with his neighbors is fully expressed by the old motto of one of the great predatory families of Teviotdale, "Thou shalt want ere I want." He seems to have laid it down, as a fundamental proposition which could not be disputed, that, when he had not as many lacs of rupees as the public service required, he was to take them from anybody who had. One thing, indeed, is to be said in excuse for him. The pressure applied to him by his employers at home was such as only the highest virtue could have withstood, such as left him no choice except to commit great wrongs, or to resign his high post, and with that post all his hopes of fortune and distinction. The Directors, it is true, never enjoined or applauded any crime. Far from it. Whoever examines their letters written at that time will find there many

just and humane sentiments, many excellent precepts, in short, an admirable code of political ethics. But every exhortation is modified or nullified by a demand for money. "Govern leniently, and send more money; practise strict justice and moderation towards neighboring powers, and send more money"; this is in truth the sum of almost all the instructions that Hastings ever received from home. Now these instructions, being interpreted, mean simply, "Be the father and the oppressor of the people; be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious." The Directors dealt with India as the church, in the good old times, dealt with a heretic. They delivered the victim over to the executioners, with an earnest request that all possible tenderness might be shown. We by no means accuse or suspect those who framed these dispatches of hypocrisy. It is probable that, writing fifteen thousand miles from the place where their orders were to be carried into effect, they never perceived the gross inconsistency of which they were guilty. But the inconsistency was at once manifest to their lieutenant at Calcutta, who, with an empty treasury, with an unpaid army, with his own salary often in arrear, with deficient crops, with government tenants daily running away, was called upon to remit home another half million without fail. Hastings saw that it was absolutely necessary for him to disregard either the moral discourses or the pecuniary requisitions of his employers. Being forced to disobey them in something, he had to consider what kind of disobedience they would most readily pardon; and he correctly judged that the safest course would be to neglect the sermons and to find the rupees.

A mind so fertile as his and so little restrained by conscientious scruples speedily discovered several modes of relieving the financial embarrassments of the Government. The allowance of the Nabob of Bengal was reduced at a stroke from three hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year to half that sum. The Company had bound itself to pay near

three hundred thousand pounds a year to the great Mogul, as a mark of homage for the provinces which he had intrusted to their care; and they had ceded to him the districts of Corah and Allahabad. On the plea that the Mogul was not really independent, but merely a tool in the hands of others, Hastings determined to retract these concessions. He accordingly declared that the English would pay no more tribute, and sent troops to occupy Allahabad and Corah. The situation of these places was such that there would be little advantage and great expense in retaining them. Hastings, who wanted money and not territory, determined to sell them. A purchaser was not wanting. The rich province of Oude had, in the general dissolution of the Mogul Empire, fallen to the share of the great Mussulman house by which it is still governed. About twenty years ago this house, by the permission of the British government, assumed the royal title, but in the time of Warren Hastings such an assumption would have been considered by the Mohammedans of India as a monstrous impiety. The Prince of Oude, though he held the power, did not venture to use the style of sovereignty. To the appellation of Nabob or Viceroy he added that of Vizier of the monarchy of Hindostan, just as in the last century the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, though independent of the Emperor and often in arms against him, were proud to style themselves his Grand Chamberlain and Grand Marshal. Sujah Dowlah, then Nabob Vizier, was on excellent terms with the English. He had a large treasure. Allahabad and Corah were so situated that they might be of use to him and could be of none to the Company. The buyer and seller soon came to an understanding; and the provinces which had been torn from the Mogul were made over to the Government of Oude for about half a million sterling.

But there was another matter still more important to be settled by the Vizier and the Governor. The fate of a brave

people was to be decided. It was decided in a manner which has left a lasting stain on the fame of Hastings and of England.

The people of Central Asia had always been to the inhabitants of India what the warriors of the German forests were to the subjects of the decaying monarchy of Rome. The dark, slender, and timid Hindoo shrank from a conflict with the strong muscle and resolute spirit of the fair race which dwelt beyond the passes. There is reason to believe that, at a period anterior to the dawn of regular history, the people who spoke the rich and flexible Sanskrit came from regions lying far beyond the Hyphasis and the Hystaspes, and imposed their yoke on the children of the soil. It is certain that, during the last ten centuries, a succession of invaders descended from the west on Hindostan; nor was the course of conquest ever turned back towards the setting sun till that memorable campaign in which the cross of Saint George was planted on the walls of Ghizni.

The Emperors of Hindostan themselves came from the other side of the great mountain ridge; and it had always been their practice to recruit their army from the hardy and valiant race from which their own illustrious house sprang. Among the military adventurers who were allured to the Mogul standards from the neighborhood of Cabul and Candahar were conspicuous several gallant bands, known by the name of the Rohillas. Their services had been rewarded with large tracts of land—fiefs of the spear, if we may use an expression drawn from an analogous state of things,—in that fertile plain through which the Ramgunga flows from the snowy heights of Kumaon to join the Ganges. In the general confusion which followed the death of Aurungzebe the warlike colony became virtually independent. The Rohillas were distinguished from the other inhabitants of India by a peculiarly fair complexion. They were more honorably distinguished by courage in war and by skill in the arts of peace. While anarchy raged from Lahore to Cape Comorin, their little territory

enjoyed the blessings of repose under the guardianship of valor. Agriculture and commerce flourished among them; nor were they negligent of rhetoric and poetry. Many persons now living have heard aged men talk with regret of the golden days when the Afghan princes ruled in the vale of Rohilcund.

Sujah Dowlah had set his heart on adding this rich district to his own principality. Right, or show of right, he had absolutely none. His claim was in no respect better founded than that of Catherine to Poland, or that of the Bonaparte family to Spain. The Rohillas held their country by exactly the same title by which he held his, and had governed their country far better than his had ever been governed. Nor were they a people whom it was perfectly safe to attack. Their land was indeed an open plain, destitute of natural defenses; but their veins were full of the high blood of Afghanistan. As soldiers they had not the steadiness which is seldom found except in company with strict discipline; but their impetuous valor had been proved on many fields of battle. It was said that their chiefs, when united by common peril, could bring eighty thousand men into the field. Sujah Dowlah had himself seen them fight, and wisely shrank from a conflict with them. There was in India one army, and only one, against which even those proud Caucasian tribes could not stand. It had been abundantly proved that neither tenfold odds nor the martial ardor of the boldest Asiatic nations could avail aught against English science and resolution. Was it possible to induce the Governor of Bengal to let out to hire the irresistible energies of the imperial people, the skill against which the ablest chiefs of Hindostan were helpless as infants, the discipline which had so often triumphed over the frantic struggles of fanaticism and despair, the unconquerable British courage which is never so sedate and stubborn as towards the close of a doubtful and murderous day?

This was what the Nabob Vizier asked, and what Hastings granted. A bargain was soon struck. Each of the negotiators

had what the other wanted. Hastings was in need of funds to carry on the Government of Bengal and to send remittances to London; and Sujah Dowlah had an ample revenue. Sujah Dowlah was bent on subjugating the Rohillas; and Hastings had at his disposal the only force by which the Rohillas could be subjugated. It was agreed that an English army should be lent to the Nabob Vizier, and that, for the loan, he should pay four hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides defraying all the charge of the troops while employed in his service.

"I really cannot see," says the Reverend Mr. Gleig, "upon what grounds, either of political or moral justice, this proposition deserves to be stigmatized as infamous." If we understand the meaning of words, it is infamous to commit a wicked action for hire, and it is wicked to engage in war without provocation. In this particular war scarcely one aggravating circumstance was wanting. The object of the Rohilla war was this, to deprive a large population, who had never done us the least harm, of a good government, and to place them, against their will, under an execrably bad one. Nay, even this is not all. England now descended far below the level even of those petty German princes who, about the same time, sold us troops to fight the Americans. The hussarmongers of Hesse and Anspach had at least the assurance that the expeditions on which their soldiers were to be employed would be conducted in conformity with the humane rules of civilized warfare. Was the Rohilla war likely to be so conducted? Did the Governor stipulate that it should be so conducted? He well knew what Indian warfare was. He well knew that the power which he covenanted to put into Sujah Dowlah's hands would, in all probability, be atrociously abused; and he required no guarantee, no promise that it should not be so abused. He did not even reserve to himself the right of withdrawing his aid in case of abuse, however gross. Mr. Gleig repeats Major Scott's absurd plea, that Hastings was justified in letting out English troops to slaughter the Rohillas, because the

Rohillas were not of Indian race, but a colony from a distant country. What were the English themselves? Was it for them to proclaim a crusade for the expulsion of all intruders from the countries watered by the Ganges? Did it lie in their mouths to contend that a foreign settler who establishes an empire in India is a *caput lupinum?* What would they have said if any other power had, on such a ground, attacked Madras or Calcutta, without the slightest provocation? Such a defense was wanting to make the infamy of the transaction complete. The atrocity of the crime and the hypocrisy of the apology are worthy of each other.

One of the three brigades of which the Bengal army consisted was sent under Colonel Champion to join Sujah Dowlah's forces. The Rohillas expostulated, entreated, offered a large ransom, but in vain. They then resolved to defend themselves to the last. A bloody battle was fought. "The enemy," says Colonel Champion, "gave proof of a good share of military knowledge; and it is impossible to describe a more obstinate firmness of resolution than they displayed." The dastardly sovereign of Oude fled from the field. The English were left unsupported; but their fire and their charge were irresistible. It was not, however, till the most distinguished chiefs had fallen, fighting bravely at the head of their troops, that the Rohilla ranks gave way. Then the Nabob Vizier and his rabble made their appearance and hastened to plunder the camp of the valiant enemies, whom they had never dared to look in the face. The soldiers of the Company, trained in an exact discipline, kept unbroken order, while the tents were pillaged by these worthless allies. But many voices were heard to exclaim, "We have had all the fighting, and those rogues are to have all the profit."

Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcund. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their

homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine, and fever, and the haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of him, to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance, and their blood, and the honor of their wives and daughters. Colonel Champion remonstrated with the Nabob Vizier and sent strong representations to Fort William; but the Governor had made no conditions as to the mode in which the war was to be carried on. He had troubled himself about nothing but his forty lacs; and though he might disapprove of Sujah Dowlah's wanton barbarity, he did not think himself entitled to interfere, except by offering advice. This delicacy excites the admiration of the reverend biographer. "Mr. Hastings," he says, "could not himself dictate to the Nabob, nor permit the commander of the Company's troops to dictate how the war was to be carried on." No, to be sure. Mr. Hastings had only to put down by main force the brave struggles of innocent men fighting for their liberty. Their military resistance crushed, his duties ended; and he had then only to fold his arms and look on, while their villages were burned, their children butchered, and their women violated. Will Mr. Gleig seriously maintain this opinion? Is any rule more plain than this, that whoever voluntarily gives to another irresistible power over human beings, is bound to take order that such power shall not be barbarously abused? But we beg pardon of our readers for arguing a point so clear.

We hasten to the end of this sad and disgraceful story. The war ceased. The finest population in India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions. Yet is the injured nation not extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth; and even at this day valor, and self-respect, and a chivalrous feeling rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the

great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race. this day they are regarded as the best of all sepoys at the cold steel; and it was very recently remarked, by one who had enjoyed great opportunities of observation, that the only natives of India to whom the word "gentleman" can with perfect propriety be applied are to be found among the Rohillas.

Whatever we may think of the morality of Hastings, it cannot be denied that the financial results of his policy did honor to his talents. In less than two years after he assumed the government, he had, without imposing any additional burdens on the people subject to his authority, added about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds to the annual income of the Company, besides procuring about a million in ready money. He had also relieved the finances of Bengal from military expenditure, amounting to near a quarter of a million a year, and had thrown that charge on the Nabob of Oude. There can be no doubt that this was a result which, if it had been obtained by honest means, would have entitled him to the warmest gratitude of his country, and which, by whatever means obtained, proved that he possessed great talents for administration.

In the meantime Parliament had been engaged in long and grave discussions on Asiatic affairs. The ministry of Lord North, in the session of 1773, introduced a measure which made a considerable change in the constitution of the Indian Government. This law, known by the name of the Regulating Act, provided that the presidency of Bengal should exercise a control over the other possessions of the Company; that the chief of that presidency should be styled Governor-General; that he should be assisted by four Councilors; and that a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three inferior judges, should be established at Calcutta. This court was made independent of the Governor-General and Council, and was intrusted with a civil and criminal jurisdiction of immense, and, at the same time, of undefined extent.

The Governor-General and Councilors were named in the act, and were to hold their situations for five years. Hastings was to be the first Governor-General. One of the four new Councilors, Mr. Barwell, an experienced servant of the Company, was then in India. The other three, General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis, were sent out from England.

The ablest of the new Councilors was, beyond all doubt, Philip Francis. His acknowledged compositions prove that he possessed considerable eloquence and information. Several years passed in the public offices had formed him to habits of business. His enemies have never denied that he had a fearless and manly spirit; and his friends, we are afraid, must acknowledge that his estimate of himself was extravagantly high, that his temper was irritable, that his deportment was often rude and petulant, and that his hatred was of intense bitterness and of long duration.

It is scarcely possible to mention this eminent man without adverting for a moment to the question which his name at once suggests to every mind. Was he the author of the "Letters of Junius"? Our own firm belief is that he was. The evidence is, we think, such as would support a verdict in a civil, nay, in a criminal proceeding. The handwriting of Junius is the very peculiar handwriting of Francis, slightly disguised. As to the position, pursuits, and connections of Junius, the following are the most important facts which can be considered as clearly proved: first, that he was acquainted with the technical forms of the secretary of state's office; secondly, that he was intimately acquainted with the business of the war office; thirdly, that he, during the year 1770, attended debates in the House of Lords, and took notes of speeches, particularly of the speeches of Lord Chatham; fourthly, that he bitterly resented the appointment of Mr. Chamier to the place of deputy secretary at war; fifthly, that he was bound by some strong tie to the first Lord Holland. Now Francis passed some years in the

secretary of state's office. He was subsequently chief clerk of the war office. He repeatedly mentioned that he had himself, in 1770, heard speeches of Lord Chatham, and some of these speeches were actually printed from his notes. He resigned his clerkship at the war office from resentment at the appointment of Mr. Chamier. It was by Lord Holland that he was first introduced into the public service. Now here are five marks, all of which ought to be found in Junius. They are all five found in Francis. We do not believe that more than two of them can be found in any other person whatever. If this argument does not settle the question, there is an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence.

The internal evidence seems to us to point the same way. The style of Francis bears a strong resemblance to that of Junius; nor are we disposed to admit — what is generally taken for granted — that the acknowledged compositions of Francis are very decidedly inferior to the anonymous letters. The argument from inferiority, at all events, is one which may be urged with at least equal force against every claimant that has ever been mentioned, with the single exception of Burke; and it would be a waste of time to prove that Burke was not Junius. And what conclusion, after all, can be drawn from mere inferiority? Every writer must produce his best work; and the interval between his best work and his second-best work may be very wide indeed. Nobody will say that the best letters of Junius are more decidedly superior to the acknowledged works of Francis than three or four of Corneille's tragedies to the rest, than three or four of Ben Jonson's comedies to the rest, than the "Pilgrim's Progress" to the other works of Bunyan, than "Don Quixote" to the other works of Cervantes. Nay, it is certain that the Man in the Mask, whoever he may have been, was a most unequal writer. To go no further than the letters which bear the signature of Junius, the letter to the king and the letters to Horne Tooke have little in common except the asperity, and

asperity was an ingredient seldom wanting either in the writings or in the speeches of Francis.

Indeed, one of the strongest reasons for believing that Francis was Junius is the moral resemblance between the two men. It is not difficult, from the letters which, under various signatures are known to have been written by Junius, and from his dealings with Woodfall and others, to form a tolerably correct notion of his character. He was clearly a man not destitute of real patriotism and magnanimity, a man whose vices were not of a sordid kind. But he must also have been a man in the highest degree arrogant and insolent, a man prone to malevolence, and prone to the error of mistaking his malevolence for public virtue. "Doest thou well to be angry?" was the question asked in old time of the Hebrew prophet. And he answered, "I do well." This was evidently the temper of Junius, and to this cause we attribute the savage cruelty which disgraces several of his letters. No man is so merciless as he who, under a strong self-delusion, confounds his antipathies with his duties. It may be added that Junius, though allied with the democratic party by common enmities, was the very opposite of a democratic politician. While attacking individuals with a ferocity which perpetually violated all the laws of literary warfare, he regarded the most defective parts of old institutions with a respect amounting to pedantry, pleaded the cause of Old Sarum with fervor, and contemptuously told the capitalists of Manchester and Leeds that, if they wanted votes, they might buy land and become freeholders of Lancashire and Yorkshire. All this, we believe, might stand, with scarcely any change, for a character of Philip Francis.

It is not strange that the great anonymous writer should have been willing at that time to leave the country which had been so powerfully stirred by his eloquence. Everything had gone against him. That party which he clearly preferred to every other, the party of George Grenville, had been scattered by the

death of its chief; and Lord Suffolk had led the greater part of it over to the ministerial benches. The ferment produced by the Middlesex election had gone down. Every faction must have been alike an object of aversion to Junius. His opinions on domestic affairs separated him from the ministry; his opinions on colonial affairs from the opposition. Under such circumstances he had thrown down his pen in misanthropical despair. His farewell letter to Woodfall bears date the nineteenth of January, 1773. In that letter he declared that he must be an idiot to write again; that he had meant well by the cause and the public; that both were given up; that there were not ten men who would act steadily together on any question. "But it is all alike," he added, "vile and contemptible. You have never flinched that I know of; and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity." These were the last words of Junius. In a year from that time Philip Francis was on his voyage to Bengal.

With three new Councilors came out the judges of the Supreme Court. The chief justice was Sir Elijah Impey. He was an old acquaintance of Hastings; and it is probable that the Governor-General, if he had searched through all the inns of court, could not have found an equally serviceable tool. But the members of Council were by no means in an obsequious mood. Hastings greatly disliked the new form of government, and had no very high opinion of his coadjutors. They had heard of this, and were disposed to be suspicious and punctilious. When men are in such a frame of mind, any trifle is sufficient to give occasion for dispute. The members of Council expected a salute of twenty-one guns from the batteries of Fort William. Hastings allowed them only seventeen. They landed in iii humor. The first civilities were exchanged with cold reserve. On the morrow commenced that long quarrel which, after distracting British India, was renewed in England, and in which all the most eminent statesmen and orators of the age took active part on one or the other side.

Hastings was supported by Barwell. They had not always been friends. But the arrival of the new members of Council from England naturally had the effect of uniting the old servants of the Company. Clavering, Monson, and Francis formed the majority. They instantly wrested the government out of the hands of Hastings; condemned, certainly not without justice, his late dealings with the Nabob Vizier; recalled the English agent from Oude, and sent thither a creature of their own; ordered the brigade which had conquered the unhappy Rohillas to return to the Company's territories; and instituted a severe inquiry into the conduct of the war. Next, in spite of the Governor-General's remonstrances, they proceeded to exercise, in the most indiscreet manner, their new authority over the subordinate presidencies; threw all the affairs of Bombay into confusion; and interfered, with an incredible union of rashness and feebleness, in the intestine disputes of the Mahratta Government. At the same time they fell on the internal administration of Bengal and attacked the whole fiscal and judicial system, a system which was undoubtedly defective, but which it was very improbable that gentlemen fresh from England would be competent to amend. The effect of their reforms was that all protection to life and property was withdrawn, and that gangs of robbers plundered and slaughtered with impunity in the very suburbs of Calcutta. Hastings continued to live in the Government House and to draw the salary of Governor-General. He continued even to take the lead at the council-board in the transaction of ordinary business; for his opponents could not but feel that he knew much of which they were ignorant, and that he decided, both surely and speedily, many questions which to them would have been hopelessly puzzling. But the higher powers of government and the most valuable patronage had been taken from him.

The natives soon found this out. They considered him as a fallen man; and they acted after their kind. Some of our

readers may have seen, in India, a cloud of crows pecking a sick vulture to death, — no bad type of what happens in that country as often as fortune deserts one who has been great and dreaded. In an instant all the sycophants who had lately been ready to lie for him, to forge for him, to pander for him, to poison for him, hasten to purchase the favor of his victorious enemies by accusing him. An Indian government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined; and in twenty-four hours it will be furnished with grave charges, supported by depositions so full and circumstantial that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive. It is well if the signature of the destined victim is not counterfeited at the foot of some illegal compact, and if some treasonable paper is not slipped into a hiding place in his house. Hastings was now regarded as helpless. The power to make or mar the fortune of every man in Bengal had passed, as it seemed, into the hands of the new Councilors. Immediately charges against the Governor-General began to pour in. They were eagerly welcomed by the majority, who, to do them justice, were men of too much honor knowingly to countenance false accusations, but who were not sufficiently acquainted with the East to be aware that, in that part of the world, a very little encouragement from power will call forth, in a week, more Oateses, and Bedloes, and Dangerfields, than Westminster Hall sees in a century.

It would have been strange indeed if, at such a juncture, Nuncomar had remained quiet. That bad man was stimulated at once by malignity, by avarice, and by ambition. Now was the time to be avenged on his old enemy, to wreak a grudge of seventeen years, to establish himself in the favor of the majority of the Council, to become the greatest native in Bengal. From the time of the arrival of the new Councilors, he had paid the most marked court to them, and had in consequence been excluded, with all indignity, from the Government House. He now

put into the hands of Francis, with great ceremony, a paper containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document Hastings was accused of putting offices up to sale, and of receiving bribes for suffering offenders to escape. In particular it was alleged that Mohammed Reza Khan had been dismissed with impunity, in consideration of a great sum paid to the Governor-General.

Francis read the paper in Council. A violent altercation followed. Hastings complained in bitter terms of the way in which he was treated, spoke with contempt of Nuncomar and of Nuncomar's accusation, and denied the right of the Council to sit in judgment on the Governor. At the next meeting of the Board another communication from Nuncomar was produced. He requested that he might be permitted to attend the Council, and that he might be heard in support of his assertions. Another tempestuous debate took place. The Governor-General maintained that the council room was not a proper place for such an investigation; that from persons who were heated by daily conflict with him he could not expect the fairness of judges; and that he could not, without betraying the dignity of his post, submit to be confronted with such a man as Nuncomar. The majority, however, resolved to go into the charges. Hastings rose, declared the sitting at an end, and left the room, followed by Barwell. The other members kept their seats, voted themselves a Council, put Clavering in the chair, and ordered Nuncomar to be called in. Nuncomar not only adhered to the original charges, but, after the fashion of the East, produced a large supplement. He stated that Hastings had received a great sum for appointing Rajah Goordas treasurer of the Nabob's household, and for committing the care of his Highness's person to the Munny Begum. He put in a letter purporting to bear the seal of the Munny Begum, for the purpose of establishing the truth of his story. The seal, whether forged, as Hastings affirmed, or genuine, as we are rather inclined to believe, proved nothing.

Nuncomar, as everybody knows who knows India, had only to tell the Munny Begum that such a letter would give pleasure to the majority of the Council, in order to procure her attestation. The majority, however, voted that the charge was made out; that Hastings had corruptly received between thirty and forty thousand pounds; and that he ought to be compelled to refund.

The general feeling among the English in Bengal was strongly in favor of the Governor-General. In talents for business, in knowledge of the country, in general courtesy of demeanor, he was decidedly superior to his persecutors. The servants of the Company were naturally disposed to side with the most distinguished member of their own body against a clerk from the war office, who, profoundly ignorant of the native languages and the native character, took on himself to regulate every department of the administration. Hastings, however, in spite of the general sympathy of his countrymen, was in a most painful situation. There was still an appeal to higher authority in England. If that authority took part with his enemies, nothing was left to him but to throw up his office. He accordingly placed his resignation in the hands of his agent in London, Colonel Macleane. But Macleane was instructed not to produce the resignation unless it should be fully ascertained that the feeling at the India House was adverse to the Governor-General.

The triumph of Nuncomar seemed to be complete. He held a daily levee, to which his countrymen resorted in crowds, and to which, on one occasion, the majority of the Council condescended to repair. His house was an office for the purpose of receiving charges against the Governor-General. It was said that, partly by threats and partly by wheedling, the villainous Brahmin had induced many of the wealthiest men of the province to send in complaints. But he was playing a perilous game. It was not safe to drive to despair a man of such resources and of such determination as Hastings. Nuncomar, with all his acuteness, did not understand the nature of the institutions under which he

lived. He saw that he had with him the majority of the body which made treaties, gave places, raised taxes. The separation between political and judicial functions was a thing of which he had no conception. It had probably never occurred to him that there was in Bengal an authority perfectly independent of the Council, an authority which could protect one whom the Council wished to destroy, and send to the gibbet one whom the Council wished to protect. Yet such was the fact. The Supreme Court was, within the sphere of its own duties, altogether independent of the Government. Hastings, with his usual sagacity, had seen how much advantage he might derive from possessing himself of this stronghold; and he had acted accordingly. The judges, especially the Chief Justice, were hostile to the majority of the Council. The time had now come for putting this formidable machinery into action.

On a sudden Calcutta was astounded by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and thrown into the common jail. The crime imputed to him was that six years before he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native. But it was then, and still is, the opinion of everybody, idiots and biographers excepted, that Hastings was the real mover in the business.

The rage of the majority rose to the highest point. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and sent several urgent messages to the judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail. The judges returned haughty and resolute answers. All that the Council could do was to heap honors and emoluments on the family of Nuncomar; and this they did. In the meantime the assizes commenced; a true bill was found; and Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury composed of Englishmen. A great quantity of contradictory swearing and the necessity of having every word of the evidence interpreted, protracted the trial to a most unusual length. At last a verdict of guilty was

returned, and the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

Mr. Gleig is so strangely ignorant as to imagine that the judges had no further discretion in the case, and that the power of extending mercy to Nuncomar resided with the Council. He therefore throws on Francis and Francis's party the whole blame of what followed. We should have thought that a gentleman who has published five or six bulky volumes on Indian affairs might have taken the trouble to inform himself as to the fundamental principles of the Indian Government. The Supreme Court had, under the Regulating Act, the power to respite criminals till the pleasure of the Crown should be known. The Council had, at that time, no power to interfere.

That Impey ought to have respited Nuncomar we hold to be perfectly clear. Whether the whole proceeding was not illegal, is a question. But it is certain that, whatever may have been, according to technical rules of construction, the effect of the statute under which the trial took place, it was most unjust to hang a Hindoo for forgery. The law which made forgery capital in England was passed without the smallest reference to the state of society in India. It was unknown to the natives of India. It had never been put in execution among them, certainly not for want of delinquents. It was in the highest degree shocking to all their notions. They were not accustomed to the distinction which many circumstances, peculiar to our own state of society, have led us to make between forgery and other kinds of cheating. The counterfeiting of a seal was, in their estimation, a common act of swindling; nor had it ever crossed their minds that it was to be punished as severely as gang robbery or assassination. A just judge would, beyond all doubt, have reserved the case for the consideration of the sovereign. But Impey would not hear of mercy or delay.

The excitement among all classes was great. Francis and Francis's few English adherents described the Governor-General

and the Chief Justice as the worst of murderers. Clavering, it was said, swore that, even at the foot of the gallows, Nuncomar should be rescued. The bulk of the European society, though strongly attached to the Governor-General, could not but feel compassion for a man who, with all his crimes, had so long filled so large a space in their sight, who had been great and powerful before the British empire in India began to exist, and to whom, in the old times, governors and members of Council, then mere commercial factors, had paid court for protection. The feeling of the Hindoos was infinitely stronger. They were, indeed, not a people to strike one blow for their countryman. But his sentence filled them with sorrow and dismay. Tried even by their low standard of morality, he was a bad man. But, bad as he was, he was the head of their race and religion, a Brahmin of the Brahmins. He had inherited the purest and highest caste. He had practiced with the greatest punctuality all those ceremonies to which the superstitious Bengalese ascribe far more importance than to the correct discharge of the social duties. They felt, therefore, as a devout Catholic in the dark ages would have felt at seeing a prelate of the highest dignity sent to the gallows by a secular tribunal. According to their old national laws a Brahmin could not be put to death for any crime whatever. And the crime for which Nuncomar was about to die was regarded by them in much the same light in which the selling of an unsound horse for a sound price is regarded by a Yorkshire jockey.

The Mussulmans alone appear to have seen with exultation the fate of the powerful Hindoo who had attempted to rise by means of the ruin of Mohammed Reza Khan. The Mohammedan historian of those times takes delight in aggravating the charge. He assures us that in Nuncomar's house a casket was found containing counterfeits of the seals of all the richest men of the province. We have never fallen in with any other authority for this story, which in itself is by no means improbable.

The day drew near; and Nuncomar prepared himself to die with that quiet fortitude with which the Bengalese, so effeminately timid in personal conflict, often encounters calamities for which there is no remedy. The sheriff, with the humanity which is seldom wanting in an English gentleman, visited the prisoner on the eve of the execution, and assured him that no indulgence, consistent with the law, should be refused to him. Nuncomar expressed his gratitude with great politeness and unaltered composure. Not a muscle of his face moved. Not a sigh broke from him. He put his finger to his forehead, and calmly said that fate would have its way and that there was no resisting the pleasure of God. He sent his compliments to Francis, Clavering, and Monson, and charged them to protect Rajah Goordas, who was about to become the head of the Brahmins of Bengal. The sheriff withdrew, greatly agitated by what had passed, and Nuncomar sat composedly down to write notes and examine accounts.

The next morning, before the sun was in his power, an immense concourse assembled round the place where the gallows had been set up. Grief and horror were on every face; yet to the last the multitude could hardly believe that the English really purposed to take the life of the great Brahmin. At length the mournful procession came through the crowd. Nuncomar sat up in his palanquin and looked round him with unaltered serenity. He had just parted from those who were most nearly connected with him. Their cries and contortions had appalled the European ministers of justice, but had not produced the smallest effect on the iron stoicism of the prisoner. The only anxiety which he expressed was that men of his own priestly caste might be in attendance to take charge of his corpse. He again desired to be remembered to his friends in the Council, mounted the scaffold with firmness, and gave the signal to the executioner. The moment that the drop fell, a howl of sorrow and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds

turned away their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings towards the Hoogley, and plunged into its holy waters, as if to purify themselves from the guilt of having looked on such a crime. These feelings were not confined to Calcutta. The whole province was greatly excited; and the population of Dacca, in particular, gave strong signs of grief and dismay.

Of Impey's conduct it is impossible to speak too severely. We have already said that, in our opinion, he acted unjustly in refusing to respite Nuncomar. No rational man can doubt that he took this course in order to gratify the Governor-General. If we had ever had any doubts on that point, they would have been dispelled by a letter which Mr. Gleig has published. Hastings, three or four years later, described Impey as the man "to whose support he was at one time indebted for the safety of his fortune, honor, and reputation." These strong words can refer only to the case of Nuncomar; and they must mean that Impey hanged Nuncomar in order to support Hastings. It is, therefore, our deliberate opinion that Impey, sitting as a judge, put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose.

But we look on the conduct of Hastings in a somewhat different light. He was struggling for fortune, honor, liberty, — all that makes life valuable. He was beset by rancorous and unprincipled enemies. From his colleagues he could expect no justice. He cannot be blamed for wishing to crush his accusers. He was indeed bound to use only legitimate means for that end. But it was not strange that he should have thought any means legitimate which were pronounced legitimate by the sages of the law, — by men whose peculiar duty it was to deal justly between adversaries, and whose education might be supposed to have peculiarly qualified them for the discharge of that duty. Nobody demands from a party the unbending equity of a judge. The reason that judges are appointed is, that even a good man cannot be trusted to decide a cause in which he is himself concerned. Not a day passes on which an honest prosecutor does

not ask for what none but a dishonest tribunal would grant. It is too much to expect that any man, when his dearest interests are at stake and his strongest passions excited, will, as against himself, be more just than the sworn dispensers of justice. To take an analogous case from the history of our own island: suppose that Lord Stafford, when in the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in the Popish plot, had been apprised that Titus Oates had done something which might, by a questionable construction, be brought under the head of felony. Should we severely blame Lord Stafford, in the supposed case, for causing a prosecution to be instituted, for furnishing funds, for using all his influence to intercept the mercy of the Crown? We think not. If a judge, indeed, from favor to the Catholic lords, were to strain the law in order to hang Oates, such a judge would richly deserve impeachment. But it does not appear to us that the Catholic lord, by bringing the case before the judge for decision, would materially overstep the limits of a just self-defense.

While, therefore, we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings, we doubt whether it can with justice be reckoned among his crimes. That his conduct was dictated by a profound policy is evident. He was in a minority in Council. It was possible that he might long be in a minority. He knew the native character well. He knew in what abundance accusations are certain to flow in against the most innocent inhabitant of India who is under the frown of power. There was not in the whole black population of Bengal a place holder, a place hunter, a Government tenant, who did not think that he might better himself by sending up a deposition against the Governor-General. Under these circumstances the persecuted statesman resolved to teach the whole crew of accusers and witnesses that, though in a minority at the council-board, he was still to be feared. The lesson which he gave them was indeed a lesson not to be forgotten. The head of the combination which had been formed against him, the richest,

the most powerful, the most artful of the Hindoos, distinguished by the favor of those who then held the government, fenced round by the superstitious reverence of millions, was hanged in broad day before many thousands of people. Everything that could make the warning impressive, dignity in the sufferer, solemnity in the proceeding, was found in this case. The helpless rage and vain struggles of the Council made the triumph more signal. From that moment the conviction of every native was that it was safer to take the part of Hastings in a minority than that of Francis in a majority, and that he who was so venturous as to join in running down the Governor-General might chance, in the phrase of the Eastern poet, to find a tiger, while beating the jungle for a deer. The voices of a thousand informers were silenced in an instant. From that time, whatever difficulty Hastings might have to encounter, he was never molested by accusations of natives of India.

It is a remarkable circumstance that one of the letters of Hastings to Dr. Johnson bears date a very few hours after the death of Nuncomar. While the whole settlement was in commotion, while a mighty and ancient priesthood were weeping over the remains of their chief, the conqueror in that deadly grapple sat down, with characteristic self-possession, to write about the "Tour to the Hebrides," Jones's "Persian Grammar," and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India.

In the meantime intelligence of the Rohilla war, and of the first disputes between Hastings and his colleagues, had reached London. The Directors took part with the majority, and sent out a letter filled with severe reflections on the conduct of Hastings. They condemned, in strong but just terms, the iniquity of undertaking offensive wars merely for the sake of pecuniary advantages. But they utterly forgot that, if Hastings had by illicit means obtained pecuniary advantages, he had done so, not for his own benefit, but in order to meet their demands. To enjoin honesty and to insist on having what could not be

honestly got, was then the constant practice of the Company. As Lady Macbeth says of her husband, they "would not play false, and yet would wrongly win."

The Regulating Act, by which Hastings had been appointed Governor-General for five years, empowered the Crown to remove him on an address from the Company. Lord North was desirous to procure such an address. The three members of Council who had been sent out from England were men of his own choice. General Clavering, in particular, was supported by a large parliamentary connection, such as no cabinet could be inclined to disoblige. The wish of the Minister was to displace Hastings and to put Clavering at the head of the Government. In the Court of Directors parties were very nearly balanced. Eleven voted against Hastings, ten for him. The Court of Proprietors was then convened. The great salesroom presented a singular appearance. Letters had been sent by the Secretary of the Treasury, exhorting all the supporters of Government who held India stock to be in attendance. Lord Sandwich marshaled the friends of the administration with his usual dexterity and alertness. Fifty peers and privy councilors, seldom seen so far eastward, were counted in the crowd. The debate lasted till midnight. The opponents of Hastings had a small superiority on the division; but a ballot was demanded, and the result was that the Governor-General triumphed by a majority of above a hundred votes over the combined efforts of the Directors and the Cabinet. The ministers were greatly exasperated by this defeat. Even Lord North lost his temper, no ordinary occurrence with him, and threatened to convoke parliament before Christmas, and to bring in a bill for depriving the Company of all political power and for restricting it to its old business of trading in silks and teas.

Colonel Macleane, who through all this conflict had zealously supported the cause of Hastings, now thought that his employer was in imminent danger of being turned out, branded with

parliamentary censure, perhaps prosecuted. The opinion of the Crown lawyers had already been taken respecting some parts of the Governor-General's conduct. It seemed to be high time to think of securing an honorable retreat. Under these circumstances Macleane thought himself justified in producing the resignation with which he had been intrusted. The instrument was not in very accurate form, but the Directors were too eager to be scrupulous. They accepted the resignation, fixed on Mr. Wheler, one of their own body, to succeed Hastings, and sent out orders that General Clavering, as senior member of Council, should exercise the functions of Governor-General till Mr. Wheler should arrive.

But while these things were passing in England a great change had taken place in Bengal. Monson was no more. Only four members of the Government were left. Clavering and Francis were on one side, Barwell and the Governor-General on the other; and the Governor-General had the casting vote. Hastings, who had been during two years destitute of all power and patronage, became at once absolute. He instantly proceeded to retaliate on his adversaries. Their measures were reversed; their creatures were displaced. A new valuation of the lands of Bengal, for the purposes of taxation, was ordered; and it was provided that the whole inquiry should be conducted by the Governor-General, and that all the letters relating to it should run in his name. He began, at the same time, to revolve vast plans of conquest and dominion, plans which he lived to see realized, though not by himself. His project was to form subsidiary alliances with the native princes, particularly with those of Oude and Berar, and thus to make Britain the paramount power in India. While he was meditating these great designs, arrived the intelligence that he had ceased to be Governor-General, that his resignation had been accepted, that Wheler was coming out immediately, and that, till Wheler arrived, the chair was to be filled by Clavering.

Had Hastings still been in a minority, he would probably have retired without a struggle; but he was now the real master of British India, and he was not disposed to quit his high place. He asserted that he had never given any instructions which could warrant the steps taken at home. What his instructions had been, he owned he had forgotten. If he had kept a copy of them, he had mislaid it. But he was certain that he had repeatedly declared to the Directors that he would not resign. He could not see how the Court, possessed of that declaration from himself, could receive his resignation from the doubtful hands of an agent. If the resignation were invalid, all the proceedings which were founded on that resignation were null, and Hastings was still Governor-General.

He afterwards affirmed that, though his agents had not acted in conformity with his instructions, he would nevertheless have held himself bound by their acts, if Clavering had not attempted to seize the supreme power by violence. Whether this assertion were or were not true, it cannot be doubted that the imprudence of Clavering gave Hastings an advantage. The General sent for the keys of the fort and of the treasury, took possession of the records, and held a council at which Francis attended. Hastings took the chair in another apartment and Barwell sat with him. Each of the two parties had a plausible show of right. There was no authority entitled to their obedience within fifteen thousand miles. It seemed that there remained no way of settling the dispute except an appeal to arms; and from such an appeal Hastings, confident of his influence over his countrymen in India, was not inclined to shrink. He directed the officers of the garrison of Fort William and of all the neighboring stations to obey no orders but his. At the same time, with admirable judgment, he offered to submit the case to the Supreme Court, and to abide by its decision. By making this proposition he risked nothing; yet it was a proposition which his opponents could hardly reject. Nobody could be treated as a criminal for

obeying what the judges should solemnly pronounce to be the lawful government. The boldest man would shrink from taking arms in defense of what the judges should pronounce to be usurpation. Clavering and Francis, after some delay, unwillingly consented to abide by the award of the Court. The Court pronounced that the resignation was invalid, and that therefore Hastings was still Governor-General under the Regulating Act; and the defeated members of the Council, finding that the sense of the whole settlement was against them, acquiesced in the decision.

About this time arrived the news that, after a suit which had lasted several years, the Franconian courts had decreed a divorce between Imhoff and his wife. The Baron left Calcutta, carrying with him the means of buying an estate in Saxony. The lady became Mrs. Hastings. The event was celebrated by great festivities, and all the most conspicuous persons at Calcutta, without distinction of parties, were invited to the Government house. Clavering, as the Mohammedan chronicler tells the story, was sick in mind and body, and excused himself from joining the splendid assembly. But Hastings, whom, as it should seem, success in ambition and in love had put into high good humor, would take no denial. He went himself to the General's house and at length brought his vanquished rival in triumph to the gay circle which surrounded the bride. The exertion was too much for a frame broken by mortification as well as by disease. Clavering died a few days later.

Wheler, who came out expecting to be Governor-General and was forced to content himself with a seat at the council-board, generally voted with Francis. But the Governor-General, with Barwell's help and his own casting vote, was still the master. Some change took place at this time in the feeling both of the Court of Directors and of the Ministers of the Crown. All designs against Hastings were dropped; and when his original term of five years expired, he was quietly reappointed.

The truth is, that the fearful dangers to which the public interests in every quarter were now exposed, made both Lord North and the Company unwilling to part with a Governor whose talents, experience, and resolution enmity itself was compelled to acknowledge.

The crisis was indeed formidable. That great and victorious empire, on the throne of which George the Third had taken his seat eighteen years before, with brighter hopes than had attended the accession of any of the long line of English sovereigns, had, by the most senseless misgovernment, been brought to the verge of ruin. In America millions of Englishmen were at war with the country from which their blood, their language, their religion, and their institutions were derived, and to which, but a short time before, they had been as strongly attached as the inhabitants of Norfolk and Leicestershire. The great powers of Europe, humbled to the dust by the vigor and genius which had guided the councils of George the Second, now rejoiced in the prospect of a signal revenge. The time was approaching when our island, while struggling to keep down the United States of America and pressed with a still nearer danger by the too just discontents of Ireland, was to be assailed by France, Spain, and Holland, and to be threatened by the armed neutrality of the Baltic; when even our maritime supremacy was to be in jeopardy; when hostile fleets were to command the Straits of Calpe and the Mexican Sea; when the British flag was to be scarcely able to protect the British Channel. Great as were the faults of Hastings, it was happy for our country that at that conjuncture, the most terrible through which she has ever passed, he was the ruler of her Indian dominions.

An attack by sea on Bengal was little to be apprehended. The danger was that the European enemies of England might form an alliance with some native power, might furnish that power with troops, arms, and ammunition, and might thus assail our possessions on the side of the land. It was chiefly

from the Mahrattas that Hastings anticipated danger. The original seat of that singular people was the wild range of hills which runs along the western coast of India. In the reign of Aurungzebe the inhabitants of those regions, led by the great Sevajee, began to descend on the possessions of their wealthier and less warlike neighbors. The energy, ferocity, and cunning of the Mahrattas soon made them the most conspicuous among the new powers which were generated by the corruption of the decaying monarchy. At first they were only robbers. They soon rose to the dignity of conquerors. Half the provinces of the empire were turned into Mahratta principalities. Freebooters, sprung from low castes and accustomed to menial employments, became mighty Rajahs. The Bonslas, at the head of a band of plunderers, occupied the vast region of Berar. The Guicowar, which is, being interpreted, the Herdsman, founded that dynasty which still reigns in Guzerat. The houses of Scindia and Holkar waxed great in Malwa. One adventurous captain made his nest on the impregnable rock of Gooti. Another became the lord of the thousand villages which are scattered among the green rice fields of Tanjore.

That was the time, throughout India, of double government. The form and the power were everywhere separated. The Mussulman nabobs who had become sovereign princes, the Vizier in Oude, and the Nizam at Hyderabad still called themselves the viceroys of the house of Tamerlane. In the same manner the Mahratta states, though really independent of each other, pretended to be members of one empire. They all acknowledged, by words and ceremonies, the supremacy of the heir of Sevajee, a *roi fainéant* who chewed bhang and toyed with dancing girls in a state prison at Sattara; and of his Peshwa, or mayor of the palace, a great hereditary magistrate, who kept a court with kingly state at Poonah, and whose authority was obeyed in the spacious provinces of Aurungabad and Bejapoor.

Some months before war was declared in Europe the Government of Bengal was alarmed by the news that a French adventurer, who passed for a man of quality, had arrived at Poonah. It was said that he had been received there with great distinction, that he had delivered to the Peshwa letters and presents from Louis the Sixteenth, and that a treaty, hostile to England, had been concluded between France and the Mahrattas.

Hastings immediately resolved to strike the first blow. The title of the Peshwa was not undisputed. A portion of the Mahratta nation was favorable to a pretender. The Governor-General determined to espouse this pretender's interest, to move an army across the peninsula of India, and to form a close alliance with the chief of the house of Bonsla, who ruled Berar, and who, in power and dignity, was inferior to none of the Mahratta princes.

The army had marched, and the negotiations with Berar were in progress, when a letter from the English consul at Cairo brought the news that war had been proclaimed both in London and Paris. All the measures which the crisis required were adopted by Hastings without a moment's delay. The French factories in Bengal were seized. Orders were sent to Madras that Pondicherry should instantly be occupied. Near Calcutta works were thrown up which were thought to render the approach of a hostile force impossible. A maritime establishment was formed for the defense of the river. Nine new battalions of sepoys were raised, and a corps of native artillery was formed out of the hardy Lascars of the Bay of Bengal. Having made these arrangements, the Governor-General with calm confidence pronounced his presidency secure from all attack, unless the Mahrattas should march against it in conjunction with the French.

The expedition which Hastings had sent westward was not so speedily or completely successful as most of his undertakings. The commanding officer procrastinated. The authorities

at Bombay blundered. But the Governor-General persevered. A new commander repaired the errors of his predecessor. Several brilliant actions spread the military renown of the English through regions where no European flag had ever been seen. It is probable that, if a new and more formidable danger had not compelled Hastings to change his whole policy, his plans respecting the Mahratta empire would have been carried into complete effect.

The authorities in England had wisely sent out to Bengal, as commander of the forces and member of the Council, one of the most distinguished soldiers of that time. Sir Eyre Coote had, many years before, been conspicuous among the founders of the British empire in the East. At the council of war which preceded the battle of Plassey he earnestly recommended, in opposition to the majority, that daring course which, after some hesitation, was adopted, and which was crowned with such splendid success. He subsequently commanded in the south of India against the brave and unfortunate Lally, gained the decisive battle of Wandewash over the French and their native allies, took Pondicherry, and made the English power supreme in the Carnatic. Since those great exploits near twenty years had elapsed. Coote had no longer the bodily activity which he had shown in earlier days; nor was the vigor of his mind altogether unimpaired. He was capricious and fretful, and required much coaxing to keep him in good humor. It must, we fear, be added that the love of money had grown upon him, and that he thought more about his allowances, and less about his duties, than might have been expected from so eminent a member of so noble a profession. Still he was perhaps the ablest officer that was then to be found in the British army. Among the native soldiers his name was great and his influence unrivaled. Nor is he yet forgotten by them. Now and then a white-bearded old sepoy may still be found, who loves to talk of Porto Novo and Pollilore. It is but a short time since one of those

aged men came to present a memorial to an English officer who holds one of the highest employments in India. A print of Coote hung in the room. The veteran recognized at once that face and figure which he had not seen for more than half a century, and, forgetting his salaam to the living, halted, drew himself up, lifted his hand, and with solemn reverence paid his military obeisance to the dead.

Coote, though he did not, like Barwell, vote constantly with the Governor-General, was by no means inclined to join in systematic opposition, and on most questions concurred with Hastings, who did his best, by assiduous courtship, and by readily granting the most exorbitant allowances, to gratify the strongest passions of the old soldier.

It seemed likely at this time that a general reconciliation would put an end to the quarrels which had, during some years, weakened and disgraced the Government of Bengal. The dangers of the empire might well induce men of patriotic feeling — and of patriotic feeling neither Hastings nor Francis was destitute — to forget private enmities, and to coöperate heartily for the general good. Coote had never been concerned in faction. Wheler was thoroughly tired of it. Barwell had made an ample fortune, and, though he had promised that he would not leave Calcutta while his help was needed in Council, was most desirous to return to England, and exerted himself to promote an arrangement which would set him at liberty. A compact was made, by which Francis agreed to desist from opposition, and Hastings engaged that the friends of Francis should be admitted to a fair share of the honors and emoluments of the service. During a few months after this treaty there was apparent harmony at the council-board.

Harmony, indeed, was never more necessary; for at this moment internal calamities, more formidable than war itself, menaced Bengal. The authors of the Regulating Act of 1773 had established two independent powers, the one judicial, the

other political; and, with a carelessness scandalously common in English legislation, had omitted to define the limits of either. The judges took advantage of the indistinctness, and attempted to draw to themselves supreme authority, not only within Calcutta, but through the whole of the great territory subject to the presidency of Fort William. There are few Englishmen who will not admit that the English law, in spite of modern improvements, is neither so cheap nor so speedy as might be wished. Still, it is a system which has grown up among us. In some points it has been fashioned to suit our feelings; in others it has gradually fashioned our feelings to suit itself. Even to its worst evils we are accustomed; and, therefore, though we may complain of them, they do not strike us with the horror and dismay which would be produced by a new grievance of smaller severity. In India the case is widely different. English law, transplanted to that country, has all the vices from which we suffer here; it has them all in a far higher degree; and it has other vices, compared with which the worst vices from which we suffer are trifles. Dilatory here, it is far more dilatory in a land where the help of an interpreter is needed by every judge and by every advocate. Costly here, it is far more costly in a land into which the legal practitioners must be imported from an immense distance. All English labor in India, from the labor of the Governor-General and the Commander in Chief, down to that of a groom or a watchmaker, must be paid for at a higher rate than at home. No man will be banished, and banished to the torrid zone, for nothing. The rule holds good with respect to the legal profession. No English barrister will work, fifteen thousand miles from all his friends, with the thermometer at ninety-six in the shade, for the emoluments which will content him in chambers that overlook the Thames. Accordingly the fees at Calcutta are about three times as great as the fees of Westminster Hall; and this, though the people of India are, beyond all comparison, poorer than the people of England.

Yet the delay and the expense, grievous as they are, form the smallest part of the evil which English law, imported without modifications into India, could not fail to produce. The strongest feelings of our nature, honor, religion, female modesty, rose up against the innovation. Arrest on mesne process was the first step in most civil proceedings; and to a native of rank arrest was not merely a restraint, but a foul personal indignity. Oaths were required in every stage of every suit; and the feeling of a Quaker about an oath is hardly stronger than that of a respectable native. That the apartments of a woman of quality should be entered by strange men, or that her face should be seen by them, are, in the East, intolerable outrages, outrages which are more dreaded than death, and which can be expiated only by the shedding of blood. To these outrages the most distinguished families of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa were now exposed. Imagine what the state of our own country would be, if a jurisprudence were on a sudden introduced among us, which should be to us what our jurisprudence was to our Asiatic subjects. Imagine what the state of our country would be, if it were enacted that any man, by merely swearing that a debt was due to him, should acquire a right to insult the persons of men of the most honorable and sacred callings and of women of the most shrinking delicacy, to horsewhip a general officer, to put a bishop in the stocks, to treat ladies in the way which called forth the blow of Wat Tyler. Something like this was the effect of the attempt which the Supreme Court made to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the Company's territory.

A reign of terror began, — of terror heightened by mystery; for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected from this strange tribunal. It came from beyond the black water, as the people of India, with mysterious horror, call the sea. It consisted of judges not one of whom was familiar with the usages of the millions over whom they claimed

boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown characters; its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds. It had already collected round itself an army of the worst part of the native population, informers, and false witnesses, and common barrators, and agents of chicane, and, above all, a banditti of bailiffs' followers, compared with whom the retainers of the worst English sponging houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives, highly considered among their countrymen, were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common jail, not for any crime even imputed, not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey. The harems of noble Mohammedans, sanctuaries respected in the East by governments which respected nothing else, were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver and less accustomed to submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defense; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if even the faint-hearted Bengalese, who had crouched at the feet of Surajah Dowlah, who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart, would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers. All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court.

Every class of the population, English and native, with the exception of the ravenous pettifoggers who fattened on the misery and terror of an immense community, cried out loudly against this fearful oppression. But the judges were immovable. If a bailiff was resisted, they ordered the soldiers to be called

out. If a servant of the Company, in conformity with the orders of the Government, withstood the miserable catchpoles who, with Impey's writs in their hands, exceeded the insolence and rapacity of gang robbers, he was flung into prison for a contempt. The lapse of sixty years, the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates who have, during that time, administered justice in the Supreme Court, have not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the recollection of those evil days.

The members of the Government were, on this subject, united as one man. Hastings had courted the judges; he had found them useful instruments, but he was not disposed to make them his own masters, or the masters of India. His mind was large; his knowledge of the native character most accurate. He saw that the system pursued by the Supreme Court was degrading to the Government and ruinous to the people; and he resolved to oppose it manfully. The consequence was, that the friendship — if that be the proper word for such a connection — which had existed between him and Impey was for a time completely dissolved. The Government placed itself firmly between the tyrannical tribunal and the people. The Chief Justice proceeded to the wildest excesses. The Governor-General and all the members of Council were served with writs, calling on them to appear before the King's justices and to answer for their public acts. This was too much. Hastings, with just scorn, refused to obey the call, set at liberty the persons wrongfully detained by the Court, and took measures for resisting the outrageous proceedings of the sheriffs' officers, if necessary, by the sword. But he had in view another device which might prevent the necessity of an appeal to arms. He was seldom at a loss for an expedient; and he knew Impey well. The expedient, in this case, was a very simple one, neither more nor less than a bribe. Impey was, by act of Parliament, a judge, independent of the Government of Bengal, and entitled to a salary of eight

thousand a year. Hastings proposed to make him also a judge in the Company's service, removable at the pleasure of the Government of Bengal; and to give him, in that capacity, about eight thousand a year more. It was understood that, in consideration of this new salary, Impey would desist from urging the high pretensions of his court. If he did urge these pretensions, the Government could, at a moment's notice, eject him from the new place which had been created for him. The bargain was struck; Bengal was saved; an appeal to force was averted; and the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous.

Of Impey's conduct it is unnecessary to speak. It was of a piece with almost every part of his conduct that comes under the notice of history. No other such judge has dishonored the English ermine, since Jeffreys drank himself to death in the Tower. But we cannot agree with those who have blamed Hastings for this transaction. The case stood thus. The negligent manner in which the Regulating Act had been framed put it in the power of the Chief Justice to throw a great country into the most dreadful confusion. He was determined to use his power to the utmost, unless he was paid to be still; and Hastings consented to pay him. The necessity was to be deplored. It is also to be deplored that pirates should be able to exact ransom by threatening to make their captives walk the plank. But to ransom a captive from pirates has always been held a humane and Christian act; and it would be absurd to charge the payer of the ransom with corrupting the virtue of the corsair. This, we seriously think, is a not unfair illustration of the relative position of Impey, Hastings, and the people of India. Whether it was right in Impey to demand or to accept a price for powers which, if they really belonged to him, he could not abdicate, which, if they did not belong to him, he ought never to have usurped, and which in neither case he could honestly sell, is one question. It is quite another question, whether Hastings was not right to give any sum, however large,

to any man, however worthless, rather than either surrender millions of human beings to pillage or rescue them by civil war.

Francis strongly opposed this arrangement. It may, indeed, be suspected that personal aversion to Impey was as strong a motive with Francis as regard for the welfare of the province. To a mind burning with resentment, it might seem better to leave Bengal to the oppressors than to redeem it by enriching them. It is not improbable, on the other hand, that Hastings may have been the more willing to resort to an expedient agreeable to the Chief Justice, because that high functionary had already been so serviceable, and might, when existing dissensions were composed, be serviceable again.

But it was not on this point alone that Francis was now opposed to Hastings. The peace between them proved to be only a short and hollow truce, during which their mutual aversion was constantly becoming stronger. At length an explosion took place. Hastings publicly charged Francis with having deceived him and with having induced Barwell to quit the service by insincere promises. Then came a dispute, such as frequently arises even between honorable men, when they may make important agreements by mere verbal communication. An impartial historian will probably be of opinion that they had misunderstood each other; but their minds were so much embittered that they imputed to each other nothing less than deliberate villany. "I do not," said Hastings, in a minute recorded on the Consultations of the Government, "I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candor, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honor." After the Council had risen, Francis put a challenge into the Governor-General's hand. It was instantly accepted. They met and fired. Francis was shot through the body. He was carried to a neighboring house, where it appeared that the wound, though severe, was not mortal. Hastings inquired repeatedly after his enemy's health,

and proposed to call on him; but Francis coldly declined the visit. He had a proper sense, he said, of the Governor-General's politeness, but could not consent to any private interview. They could meet only at the council-board.

In a very short time it was made signally manifest to how great a danger the Governor-General had, on this occasion, exposed his country. A crisis arrived with which he, and he alone, was competent to deal. It is not too much to say that, if he had been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America.

The Mahrattas had been the chief objects of apprehension to Hastings. The measures which he had adopted for the purpose of breaking their power had at first been frustrated by the errors of those whom he was compelled to employ; but his perseverance and ability seemed likely to be crowned with success, when a far more formidable danger showed itself in a distant quarter.

About thirty years before this time a Mohammedan soldier had begun to distinguish himself in the wars of Southern India. His education had been neglected; his extraction was humble. His father had been a petty officer of revenue; his grandfather a wandering dervish. But though thus meanly descended, though ignorant even of the alphabet, the adventurer had no sooner been placed at the head of a body of troops than he approved himself a man born for conquest and command. Among the crowd of chiefs who were struggling for a share of India, none could compare with him in the qualities of the captain and the statesman. He became a general; he became a sovereign. Out of the fragments of old principalities which had gone to pieces in the general wreck he formed for himself a great, compact, and vigorous empire. That empire he ruled with the ability, severity, and vigilance of Louis the Eleventh. Licentious in his pleasures, implacable in his revenge, he had yet enlargement

of mind enough to perceive how much the prosperity of subjects adds to the strength of governments. He was an oppressor; but he had at least the merit of protecting his people against all oppression except his own. He was now in extreme old age; but his intellect was as clear, and his spirit as high, as in the prime of manhood. Such was the great Hyder Ali, the founder of the Mohammedan kingdom of Mysore, and the most formidable enemy with whom the English conquerors of India have ever had to contend.

Had Hastings been Governor of Madras, Hyder would have been either made a friend, or vigorously encountered as an enemy. Unhappily the English authorities in the south provoked their powerful neighbor's hostility, without being prepared to repel it. On a sudden an army of ninety thousand men, far superior in discipline and efficiency to any other native force that could be found in India, came pouring through those wild passes which, worn by mountain torrents, and dark with jungle, lead down from the table-land of Mysore to the plains of the Carnatic. This great army was accompanied by a hundred pieces of cannon; and its movements were guided by many French officers, trained in the best military schools of Europe.

Hyder was everywhere triumphant. The sepoys in many British garrisons flung down their arms. Some forts were surrendered by treachery and some by despair. In a few days the whole open country north of the Coleroon had submitted. The English inhabitants of Madras could already see by night, from the top of Mount St. Thomas, the eastern sky reddened by a vast semicircle of blazing villages. The white villas, to which our countrymen retire after the daily labors of government and of trade, when the cool evening breeze springs up from the bay, were now left without inhabitants; for bands of the fierce horsemen of Mysore had already been seen prowling among the tulip trees and near the gay verandas. Even the town was not thought secure, and the British merchants and public

functionaries made haste to crowd themselves behind the cannon of Fort St. George.

There were the means indeed of assembling an army which might have defended the presidency, and even driven the invader back to his mountains. Sir Hector Munro was at the head of one considerable force; Baillie was advancing with another. United, they might have presented a formidable front even to such an enemy as Hyder. But the English commanders, neglecting those fundamental rules of the military art of which the propriety is obvious even to men who have never received a military education, deferred their junction and were separately attacked. Baillie's detachment was destroyed. Munro was forced to abandon his baggage, to fling his guns into the tanks, and to save himself by a retreat which might be called a flight. In three weeks from the commencement of the war the British empire in Southern India had been brought to the verge of ruin. Only a few fortified places remained to us. The glory of our arms had departed. It was known that a great French expedition might soon be expected on the coast of Coromandel. England, beset by enemies on every side, was in no condition to protect such remote dependencies.

Then it was that the fertile genius and serene courage of Hastings achieved their most signal triumph. A swift ship, flying before the southwest monsoon, brought the evil tidings in few days to Calcutta. In twenty-four hours the Governor-General had framed a complete plan of policy adapted to the altered state of affairs. The struggle with Hyder was a struggle for life and death. All minor objects must be sacrificed to the preservation of the Carnatic. The disputes with the Mahrattas must be accommodated. A large military force and a supply of money must be instantly sent to Madras. But even these measures would be insufficient, unless the war, hitherto so grossly mismanaged, were placed under the direction of a vigorous mind. It was no time for trifling. Hastings determined to resort

to an extreme exercise of power, to suspend the incapable Governor of Fort St. George, to send Sir Eyre Coote to oppose Hyder, and to intrust that distinguished general with the whole administration of the war.

In spite of the sullen opposition of Francis, who had now recovered from his wound and had returned to the Council, the Governor-General's wise and firm policy was approved by the majority of the board. The reënforcements were sent off with great expedition and reached Madras before the French armament arrived in the Indian seas. Coote, broken by age and disease, was no longer the Coote of Wandewash; but he was still a resolute and skillful commander. The progress of Hyder was arrested; and in a few months the great victory of Porto Novo retrieved the honor of the English arms.

In the meantime Francis had returned to England, and Hastings was now left perfectly unfettered. Wheler had gradually been relaxing in his opposition, and, after the departure of his vehement and implacable colleague, coöperated heartily with the Governor-General, whose influence over the British in India, always great, had, by the vigor and success of his recent measures, been considerably increased.

But, though the difficulties arising from factions within the Council were at an end, another class of difficulties had become more pressing than ever. The financial embarrassment was extreme. Hastings had to find the means not only of carrying on the Government of Bengal but of maintaining a most costly war against both Indian and European enemies in the Carnatic, and of making remittances to England. A few years before this time he had obtained relief by plundering the Mogul and enslaving the Rohillas; nor were the resources of his fruitful mind by any means exhausted.

His first design was on Benares, a city which in wealth, population, dignity, and sanctity was among the foremost of Asia. It was commonly believed that half a million of human beings

was crowded into that labyrinth of lofty alleys, rich with shrines, and minarets, and balconies, and carved oriels, to which the sacred apes clung by hundreds. The traveler could scarcely make his way through the press of holy mendicants and not less holy bulls. The broad and stately flights of steps which descended from these swarming haunts to the bathing places along the Ganges were worn every day by the footsteps of an innumerable multitude of worshipers. The schools and temples drew crowds of pious Hindoos from every province where the Brahminical faith was known. Hundreds of devotees came thither every month to die; for it was believed that a peculiarly happy fate awaited the man who should pass from the sacred city into the sacred river. Nor was superstition the only motive which allured strangers to that great metropolis. Commerce had as many pilgrims as religion. All along the shores of the venerable stream lay great fleets of vessels laden with rich merchandise. From the looms of Benares went forth the most delicate silks that adorned the balls of St. James's and of the *Petit Trianon*, and in the bazaars the muslins of Bengal and the sabers of Oude were mingled with the jewels of Golconda and the shawls of Cashmere. This rich capital and the surrounding tract had long been under the immediate rule of a Hindoo prince who rendered homage to the Mogul emperors. During the great anarchy of India the lords of Benares became independent of the Court of Delhi, but were compelled to submit to the authority of the Nabob of Oude. Oppressed by this formidable neighbor, they invoked the protection of the English. The English protection was given; and at length the Nabob Vizier, by a solemn treaty, ceded all his rights over Benares to the Company. From that time the Rajah was the vassal of the Government of Bengal, acknowledged its supremacy, and engaged to send an annual tribute to Fort William. This tribute Cheyte Sing, the reigning prince, had paid with strict punctuality.

Respecting the precise nature of the legal relation between

the Company and the Rajah of Benares there has been much warm and acute controversy. On the one side it has been maintained that Cheyte Sing was merely a great subject on whom the superior power had a right to call for aid in the necessities of the empire. On the other side it has been contended that he was an independent prince, that the only claim which the Company had upon him was for a fixed tribute, and that, while the fixed tribute was regularly paid, as it assuredly was, the English had no more right to exact any further contribution from him than to demand subsidies from Holland or Denmark. Nothing is easier than to find precedents and analogies in favor of either view.

Our own impression is that neither view is correct. It was too much the habit of English politicians to take it for granted that there was in India a known and definite constitution by which questions of this kind were to be decided. The truth is that, during the interval which elapsed between the fall of the house of Tamerlane and the establishment of the British ascendancy, there was no such constitution. The old order of things had passed away. The new order of things was not yet formed. All was transition, confusion, obscurity. Everybody kept his head as he best might, and scrambled for whatever he could get. There have been similar seasons in Europe. The time of the dissolution of the Carlovingian empire is an instance. Who would think of seriously discussing the question, what extent of pecuniary aid and of obedience Hugh Capet had a constitutional right to demand from the Duke of Brittany or the Duke of Normandy? The words "constitutional right" had, in that state of society, no meaning. If Hugh Capet laid hands on all the possessions of the Duke of Normandy, this might be unjust and immoral; but it would not be illegal, in the sense in which the ordinances of Charles the Tenth were illegal. If, on the other hand, the Duke of Normandy made war on Hugh Capet, this might be unjust and immoral; but it

would not be illegal, in the sense in which the expedition of Prince Louis Bonaparte was illegal.

Very similar to this was the state of India sixty years ago. Of the existing governments not a single one could lay claim to legitimacy or could plead any other title than recent occupation. There was scarcely a province in which the real sovereignty and the nominal sovereignty were not disjoined. Titles and forms were still retained which implied that the heir of Tamerlane was an absolute ruler, and that the Nabobs of the provinces were his lieutenants. In reality he was a captive. The Nabobs were in some places independent princes. In other places, as in Bengal and the Carnatic, they had, like their master, become mere phantoms, and the Company was supreme. Among the Mahrattas again the heir of Sevajee still kept the title of Rajah; but he was a prisoner, and his prime minister, the Peshwa, had become the hereditary chief of the state. The Peshwa, in his turn, was fast sinking into the same degraded situation to which he had reduced the Rajah. It was, we believe, impossible to find, from the Himalayas to Mysore, a single government which was at once a government *de facto* and a government *de jure*, which possessed the physical means of making itself feared by its neighbors and subjects, and which had at the same time the authority derived from law and long prescription.

Hastings clearly discerned, what was hidden from most of his contemporaries, that such a state of things gave immense advantages to a ruler of great talents and few scruples. In every international question that could arise he had his option between the *de facto* ground and the *de jure* ground; and the probability was that one of those grounds would sustain any claim that it might be convenient for him to make, and enable him to resist any claim made by others. In every controversy, accordingly, he resorted to the plea which suited his immediate purpose, without troubling himself in the least about consistency; and thus he scarcely ever failed to find what, to persons of short

memories and scanty information, seemed to be a justification for what he wanted to do. Sometimes the Nabob of Bengal is a shadow, sometimes a monarch. Sometimes the Vizier is a mere deputy, sometimes an independent potentate. If it is expedient for the Company to show some legal title to the revenues of Bengal, the grant under the seal of the Mogul is brought forward as an instrument of the highest authority. When the Mogul asks for the rents which were reserved to him by that very grant, he is told that he is a mere pageant, that the English power rests on a very different foundation from a charter given by him, that he is welcome to play at royalty as long as he likes, but that he must expect no tribute from the real masters of India.

It is true that it was in the power of others, as well as of Hastings, to practice this legerdemain; but in the controversies of governments sophistry is of little use unless it be backed by power. There is a principle which Hastings was fond of asserting in the strongest terms, and on which he acted with undeviating steadiness. It is a principle which, we must own, though it may be grossly abused, can hardly be disputed in the present state of public law. It is this, that where an ambiguous question arises between two governments, there is, if they cannot agree, no appeal except to force, and that the opinion of the stronger must prevail. Almost every question was ambiguous in India. The English Government was the strongest in India. The consequences are obvious. The English Government might do exactly what it chose.

The English Government now chose to wring money out of Cheyte Sing. It had formerly been convenient to treat him as a sovereign prince; it was now convenient to treat him as a subject. Dexterity inferior to that of Hastings could easily find, in the general chaos of laws and customs, arguments for either course. Hastings wanted a great supply. It was known that Cheyte Sing had a large revenue, and it was suspected that he

had accumulated a treasure. Nor was he a favorite at Calcutta. He had, when the Governor-General was in great difficulties, courted the favor of Francis and Clavering. Hastings, who, less we believe from evil passions than from policy, seldom left an injury unpunished, was not sorry that the fate of Cheyte Sing should teach neighboring princes the same lesson which the fate of Nuncomar had already impressed on the inhabitants of Bengal.

In 1778, on the first breaking out of the war with France, Cheyte Sing was called upon to pay, in addition to his fixed tribute, an extraordinary contribution of fifty thousand pounds. In 1779 an equal sum was exacted. In 1780 the demand was renewed. Cheyte Sing, in the hope of obtaining some indulgence, secretly offered the Governor-General a bribe of twenty thousand pounds. Hastings took the money, and his enemies have maintained that he took it intending to keep it. He certainly concealed the transaction for a time, both from the Council in Bengal and from the Directors at home; nor did he ever give any satisfactory reason for the concealment. Public spirit or the fear of detection, however, determined him to withstand the temptation. He paid over the bribe to the Company's treasury, and insisted that the Rajah should instantly comply with the demands of the English Government. The Rajah, after the fashion of his countrymen, shuffled, solicited, and pleaded poverty. The grasp of Hastings was not to be so eluded. He added to the requisition another ten thousand pounds as a fine for delay, and sent troops to exact the money.

The money was paid. But this was not enough. The late events in the south of India had increased the financial embarrassments of the Company. Hastings was determined to plunder Cheyte Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly the Rajah was now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British Government. He objected and evaded. This was exactly what the Governor-General wanted.

He had now a pretext for treating the wealthiest of his vassals as a criminal. "I resolved" — these are the words of Hastings himself — "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses, to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for past delinquency." The plan was simply this, to demand larger and larger contributions till the Rajah should be driven to remonstrate, then to call his remonstrance a crime, and to punish him by confiscating all his possessions.

Cheyte Sing was in the greatest dismay. He offered two hundred thousand pounds to propitiate the British Government. But Hastings replied that nothing less than half a million would be accepted. Nay, he began to think of selling Benares to Oude, as he had formerly sold Allahabad and Rohilcund. The matter was one which could not be well managed at a distance; and Hastings resolved to visit Benares.

Cheyte Sing received his liege lord with every mark of reverence, came near sixty miles, with his guards, to meet and escort the illustrious visitor, and expressed his deep concern at the displeasure of the English. He even took off his turban, and laid it in the lap of Hastings, a gesture which in India marks the most profound submission and devotion. Hastings behaved with cold and repulsive severity. Having arrived at Benares, he sent to the Rajah a paper containing the demands of the Government of Bengal. The Rajah, in reply, attempted to clear himself from the accusations brought against him. Hastings, who wanted money and not excuses, was not to be put off by the ordinary artifices of Eastern negotiation. He instantly ordered the Rajah to be arrested and placed under the custody of two companies of sepoys.

In taking these strong measures Hastings scarcely showed his usual judgment. It is probable that, having had little opportunity of personally observing any part of the population of India, except the Bengalese, he was not fully aware of the

difference between their character and that of the tribes which inhabit the upper provinces. He was now in a land far more favorable to the vigor of the human frame than the Delta of the Ganges; in a land fruitful of soldiers, who have been found worthy to follow English battalions to the charge and into the breach. The Rajah was popular among his subjects. His administration had been mild; and the prosperity of the district which he governed presented a striking contrast to the depressed state of Bahar under our rule, and a still more striking contrast to the misery of the provinces which were cursed by the tyranny of the Nabob Vizier. The national and religious prejudices with which the English were regarded throughout India were peculiarly intense in the metropolis of the Brahminical superstition. It can therefore scarcely be doubted that the Governor-General, before he outraged the dignity of Cheyte Sing by an arrest, ought to have assembled a force capable of bearing down all opposition. This had not been done. The handful of sepoys who attended Hastings would probably have been sufficient to overawe Moorshedabad or the Black Town of Calcutta. But they were unequal to a conflict with the hardy rabble of Benares. The streets surrounding the palace were filled by an immense multitude, of whom a large proportion, as is usual in Upper India, wore arms. The tumult became a fight, and the fight a massacre. The English officers defended themselves with desperate courage against overwhelming numbers, and fell, as became them, sword in hand. The sepoys were butchered. The gates were forced. The captive prince, neglected by his jailers during the confusion, discovered an outlet which opened on the precipitous bank of the Ganges, let himself down to the water by a string made of the turbans of his attendants, found a boat, and escaped to the opposite shore.

If Hastings had, by indiscreet violence, brought himself into a difficult and perilous situation, it is only just to acknowledge that he extricated himself with even more than his usual ability

and presence of mind. He had only fifty men with him. The building in which he had taken up his residence was on every side blockaded by the insurgents. But his fortitude remained unshaken. The Rajah from the other side of the river sent apologies and liberal offers. They were not even answered. Some subtle and enterprising men were found who undertook to pass through the throng of enemies, and to convey the intelligence of the late events to the English cantonments. It is the fashion of the natives of India to wear large earrings of gold. When they travel the rings are laid aside, lest the precious metal should tempt some gang of robbers, and, in place of the ring, a quill or roll of paper is inserted in the orifice, to prevent it from closing. Hastings placed in the ears of his messengers letters rolled up in the smallest compass. Some of these letters were addressed to the commanders of the English troops. One was written to assure his wife of his safety. One was to the envoy whom he had sent to negotiate with the Mahrattas. Instructions for the negotiations were needed; and the Governor-General framed them in that situation of extreme danger, with as much composure as if he had been writing in his palace at Calcutta.

Things, however, were not yet at the worst. An English officer of more spirit than judgment, eager to distinguish himself, made a premature attack on the insurgents beyond the river. His troops were entangled in narrow streets and assailed by a furious population. He fell with many of his men; and the survivors were forced to retire.

This event produced the effect which has never failed to follow every check, however slight, sustained in India by the English arms. For hundreds of miles round, the whole country was in commotion. The entire population of the district of Benares took arms. The fields were abandoned by the husbandmen, who thronged to defend their prince. The infection spread to Oude. The oppressed people of that province rose up against the Nabob Vizier, refused to pay their imposts, and put the

revenue officers to flight. Even Bahar was ripe for revolt. The hopes of Cheyte Sing began to rise. Instead of imploring mercy in the humble style of a vassal, he began to talk the language of a conqueror, and threatened, it was said, to sweep the white usurpers out of the land. But the English troops were now assembling fast. The officers, and even the private men, regarded the Governor-General with enthusiastic attachment, and flew to his aid with an alacrity which, as he boasted, had never been shown on any other occasion. Major Popham, a brave and skillful soldier, who had highly distinguished himself in the Mahratta war, and in whom the Governor-General reposed the greatest confidence, took the command. The tumultuary army of the Rajah was put to rout. His fastnesses were stormed. In a few hours above thirty thousand men left his standard and returned to their ordinary avocations. The unhappy prince fled from his country forever. His fair domain was added to the British dominions. One of his relations indeed was appointed Rajah. But the Rajah of Benares was henceforth to be, like the Nabob of Bengal, a mere pensioner.

By this revolution an addition of two hundred thousand pounds a year was made to the revenues of the Company. But the immediate relief was not as great as had been expected. The treasure laid up by Cheyte Sing had been popularly estimated at a million sterling. It turned out to be about a fourth part of that sum; and such as it was, it was seized by the army and divided as prize money.

Disappointed in his expectations from Benares, Hastings was more violent than he would otherwise have been, in his dealings with Oude. Sujah Dowlah had long been dead. His son and successor, Asaph-ul-Dowlah, was one of the weakest and most vicious even of Eastern princes. His life was divided between torpid repose and the most odious forms of sensuality. In his court there was boundless waste, throughout his dominions wretchedness and disorder. He had been, under the skillful

management of the English Government, gradually sinking from the rank of an independent prince to that of a vassal of the Company. It was only by the help of a British brigade that he could be secure from the aggressions of neighbors who despised his weakness, and from the vengeance of subjects who detested his tyranny. A brigade was furnished; and he engaged to defray the charge of paying and maintaining it. From that time his independence was at an end. Hastings was not a man to lose the advantage which he had thus gained. The Nabob soon began to complain of the burden which he had undertaken to bear. His revenues, he said, were falling off; his servants were unpaid; he could no longer support the expense of the arrangement which he had sanctioned. Hastings would not listen to these representations. The Vizier, he said, had invited the Government of Bengal to send him troops, and had promised to pay for them. The troops had been sent. How long the troops were to remain in Oude was a matter not settled by the treaty. It remained, therefore, to be settled between the contracting parties. But the contracting parties differed. Who, then, must decide? The stronger.

Hastings also argued that, if the English force was withdrawn, Oude would certainly become a prey to anarchy and would probably be overrun by a Mahratta army. That the finances of Oude were embarrassed he admitted. But he contended, not without reason, that the embarrassment was to be attributed to the incapacity and vices of Asaph-ul-Dowlah himself, and that, if less were spent on the troops, the only effect would be that more would be squandered on worthless favorites.

Hastings had intended, after settling the affairs of Benares, to visit Lucknow, and there to confer with Asaph-ul-Dowlah. But the obsequious courtesy of the Nabob Vizier prevented this visit. With a small train he hastened to meet the Governor-General. An interview took place in the fortress which, from

the crest of the precipitous rock of Chunar, looks down on the waters of the Ganges.

At first sight it might appear impossible that the negotiation should come to an amicable close. Hastings wanted an extraordinary supply of money. Asaph-ul-Dowlah wanted to obtain a remission of what he already owed. Such a difference seemed to admit of no compromise. There was, however, one course satisfactory to both sides, one course by which it was possible to relieve the finances both of Oude and of Bengal; and that course was adopted. It was simply this, that the Governor-General and the Nabob Vizier should join to rob a third party; and the third party whom they determined to rob was the parent of one of the robbers.

The mother of the late Nabob, and his wife, who was the mother of the present Nabob, were known as the Begums or Princesses of Oude. They had possessed great influence over Sujah Dowlah, and had, at his death, been left in possession of a splendid dotation. The domains of which they received the rents and administered the government were of wide extent. The treasure hoarded by the late Nabob — a treasure which was popularly estimated at near three millions sterling — was in their hands. They continued to occupy his favorite palace at Fyzabad, the Beautiful Dwelling; while Asaph-ul-Dowlah held his court in the stately Lucknow, which he had built for himself on the shores of the Goomti and had adorned with noble mosques and colleges.

Asaph-ul-Dowlah had already extorted considerable sums from his mother. She had at length appealed to the English; and the English had interfered. A solemn compact had been made, by which she consented to give her son some pecuniary assistance, and he in his turn promised never to commit any further invasion of her rights. This compact was formally guaranteed by the Government of Bengal. But times had changed; money was wanted; and the power which had given the

guarantee was not ashamed to instigate the spoiler to excesses such that even he shrank from them.

It was necessary to find some pretext for a confiscation inconsistent, not merely with plighted faith, not merely with the ordinary rules of humanity and justice, but also with that great law of filial piety which, even in the wildest tribes of savages, even in those more degraded communities which wither under the influence of a corrupt half civilization, retains a certain authority over the human mind. A pretext was the last thing that Hastings was likely to want. The insurrection at Benares had produced disturbances in Oude. These disturbances it was convenient to impute to the Princesses. Evidence for the imputation there was scarcely any; unless reports wandering from one mouth to another, and gaining something by every transmission, may be called evidence. The accused were furnished with no charge; they were permitted to make no defense; for the Governor-General wisely considered that, if he tried them, he might not be able to find a ground for plundering them. It was agreed between him and the Nabob Vizier that the noble ladies should, by a sweeping measure of confiscation, be stripped of their domains and treasures for the benefit of the Company, and that the sums thus obtained should be accepted by the Government of Bengal in satisfaction of its claims on the Government of Oude.

While Asaph-ul-Dowlah was at Chunar he was completely subjugated by the clear and commanding intellect of the English statesman. But when they had separated the Vizier began to reflect with uneasiness on the engagement into which he had entered. His mother and grandmother protested and implored. His heart, deeply corrupted by absolute power and licentious pleasures, yet not naturally unfeeling, failed him in this crisis. Even the English resident at Lucknow, though hitherto devoted to Hastings, shrank from extreme measures. But the Governor-General was inexorable. He wrote to the resident in terms of

the greatest severity, and declared that if the spoliation which had been agreed upon were not instantly carried into effect, he would himself go to Lucknow, and do that from which feebler minds recoil with dismay. The resident, thus menaced, waited on his Highness, and insisted that the treaty of Chunar should be carried into full and immediate effect. Asaph-ul-Dowlah yielded, making at the same time a solemn protestation that he yielded to compulsion. The lands were resumed; but the treasure was not so easily obtained. It was necessary to use violence. A body of the Company's troops marched to Fyzabad and forced the gates of the palace. The Princesses were confined to their own apartments. But still they refused to submit. Some more stringent mode of coercion was to be found. A mode was found of which, even at this distance of time, we cannot speak without shame and sorrow.

There were at Fyzabad two ancient men, belonging to that unhappy class which a practice, of immemorial antiquity, in the East, has excluded from the pleasures of love and from the hope of posterity. It has always been held in Asiatic courts that beings thus estranged from sympathy with their kind are those whom princes may most safely trust. Sujah Dowlah had been of this opinion. He had given his entire confidence to the two eunuchs, and after his death they remained at the head of the household of his widow.

These two men were, by the orders of the British Government, seized, imprisoned, ironed, starved almost to death, in order to extort money from the Princesses. After they had been two months in confinement their health gave way. They implored permission to take a little exercise in the garden of their prison. The officer who was in charge of them stated that, if they were allowed this indulgence, there was not the smallest chance of their escaping, and that their irons really added nothing to the security of the custody in which they were kept. He did not understand the plan of his superiors. Their object

in these inflictions was not security but torture; and all mitigation was refused. Yet this was not the worst. It was resolved by an English government that these two infirm old men should be delivered to the tormentors. For that purpose they were removed to Lucknow. What horrors their dungeon there witnessed can only be guessed. But there remains on the records of Parliament this letter, written by a British resident to a British soldier.

"Sir, the Nabob having determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see proper."

While these barbarities were perpetrated at Lucknow the Princesses were still under duress at Fyzabad. Food was allowed to enter their apartments only in such scanty quantities that their female attendants were in danger of perishing with hunger. Month after month this cruelty continued, till at length, after twelve hundred thousand pounds had been wrung out of the Princesses, Hastings began to think that he had really got to the bottom of their revenue, and that no rigor could extort more. Then at length the wretched men who were detained at Lucknow regained their liberty. When their irons were knocked off and the doors of their prison opened, their quivering lips, the tears which ran down their cheeks, and the thanksgivings which they poured forth to the common Father of Mussulmans and Christians melted even the stout hearts of the English warriors who stood by.

There is a man to whom the conduct of Hastings, through the whole of these proceedings, appears not only excusable but laudable. There is a man who tells us that he "must really be pardoned if he ventures to characterize as something preëminently ridiculous and wicked, the sensibility which would balance against the preservation of British India a little personal

suffering, which was applied only so long as the sufferers refused to deliver up a portion of that wealth, the whole of which their own and their mistresses' treason had forfeited." We cannot, we must own, envy the reverend biographer either his singular notion of what constitutes preëminent wickedness, or his equally singular perception of the preëminently ridiculous. Is this the generosity of an English soldier? Is this the charity of a Christian priest? Could neither of Mr. Gleig's professions teach him the first rudiments of morality? Or is morality a thing which may be well enough in sermons, but which has nothing to do with biography?

But we must not forget to do justice to Sir Elijah Impey's conduct on this occasion. It was not, indeed, easy for him to intrude himself into a business so entirely alien from all his official duties. But there was something inexpressibly alluring, we must suppose, in the peculiar rankness of the infamy which was then to be got at Lucknow. He hurried thither as fast as relays of palanquin bearers could carry him. A crowd of people came before him with affidavits against the Begums, ready drawn in their hands. Those affidavits he did not read. Some of them, indeed, he could not read; for they were in the dialects of Northern India, and no interpreter was employed. He administered the oath to the deponents with all possible expedition, and asked not a single question, not even whether they had perused the statements to which they swore. This work performed, he got again into his palanquin and posted back to Calcutta, to be in time for the opening of term. The cause was one which, by his own confession, lay altogether out of his jurisdiction. Under the charter of justice he had no more right to inquire into crimes committed by natives in Oude than the Lord President of the Court of Session of Scotland to hold an assize at Exeter. He had no right to try the Begums, nor did he pretend to try them. With what object, then, did he undertake so long a journey? Evidently in order that he might give, in an irregular

manner, that sanction which in a regular manner he could not give to the crimes of those who had recently hired him; and in order that a confused mass of testimony which he did not sift, which he did not even read, might acquire an authority, not properly belonging to it, from the signature of the highest judicial functionary in India.

The time was approaching, however, when he was to be stripped of that robe which has never, since the Revolution, been disgraced so foully as by him. The state of India had for some time occupied much of the attention of the British Parliament. Towards the close of the American war two committees of the Commons sat on Eastern affairs. In one Edmund Burke took the lead. The other was under the presidency of the able and versatile Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland. Great as are the changes which, during the last sixty years, have taken place in our Asiatic dominions, the reports which those committees laid on the table of the House will still be found most interesting and instructive.

There was as yet no connection between the Company and either of the great parties in the state. The ministers had no motive to defend Indian abuses. On the contrary, it was for their interest to show, if possible, that the government and patronage of our Oriental empire might, with advantage, be transferred to themselves. The votes, therefore, which, in consequence of the reports made by the two committees, were passed by the Commons breathed the spirit of stern and indignant justice. The severest epithets were applied to several of the measures of Hastings, especially to the Rohilla war; and it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Dundas, that the Company ought to recall a Governor-General who had brought such calamities on the Indian people and such dishonor on the British name. An act was passed for limiting the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The bargain which Hastings had made with the Chief Justice was condemned in the strongest terms; and

an address was presented to the King, praying that Impey might be ordered home to answer for his misdeeds.

Impey was recalled by a letter from the Secretary of State. But the proprietors of India Stock resolutely refused to dismiss Hastings from their service, and passed a resolution affirming, what was undeniably true, that they were intrusted by law with the right of naming and removing their Governor-General, and that they were not bound to obey the directions of a single branch of the legislature with respect to such nomination or removal.

Thus supported by his employers, Hastings remained at the head of the Government of Bengal till the spring of 1785. His administration, so eventful and stormy, closed in almost perfect quiet. In the Council there was no regular opposition to his measures. Peace was restored to India. The Mahratta war had ceased. Hyder was no more. A treaty had been concluded with his son, Tippoo; and the Carnatic had been evacuated by the armies of Mysore. Since the termination of the American war England had no European enemy or rival in the Eastern seas.

On a general review of the long administration of Hastings it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. She still, indeed, maintained her place in the foremost rank of European powers; and the manner in which she had defended herself against fearful odds had inspired surrounding nations with a high opinion both of her spirit and of her strength. Nevertheless, in every part of the world, except one, she had been a loser. Not only had she been compelled to acknowledge the independence of thirteen colonies peopled by her children, and to conciliate the Irish by giving up the right of legislating for them; but, in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Africa, on the continent of America, she had been compelled to cede the fruits

of her victories in former wars. Spain regained Minorca and Florida; France regained Senegal, Goree, and several West Indian islands. The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected; the Nabob Vizier reduced to vassalage. That our influence had been thus extended, nay, that Fort William and Fort St. George had not been occupied by hostile armies, was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.

His internal administration, with all its blemishes, gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy he educed at least a rude and imperfect order. The whole organization by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Louis the Sixteenth or of the Emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. He boasted that every public office, without exception, which existed when he left Bengal, was his creation. It is quite true that this system, after all the improvements suggested by the experience of sixty years, still needs improvement, and that it was at first far more defective than it now is. But whoever seriously considers what it is to construct from the beginning the whole of a machine so vast and complex as a government will allow that what Hastings effected deserves high admiration. To compare the most celebrated European ministers to him seems to us as unjust as it would be to compare the best baker in London with Robinson Crusoe, who, before he could bake a single loaf, had to make his plow and his harrow, his fences and his scarecrows, his sickle and his flail, his mill and his oven.

The just fame of Hastings rises still higher, when we reflect that he was not bred a statesman; that he was sent from school to a countinghouse; and that he was employed during the prime of his manhood as a commercial agent, far from all intellectual society.

Nor must we forget that all, or almost all, to whom, when placed at the head of affairs, he could apply for assistance, were persons who owed as little as himself, or less than himself, to education. A minister in Europe finds himself, on the first day on which he commences his functions, surrounded by experienced public servants, the depositories of official traditions. Hastings had no such help. His own reflection, his own energy, were to supply the place of all Downing Street and Somerset House. Having had no facilities for learning, he was forced to teach. He had first to form himself, and then to form his instruments; and this not in a single department, but in all the departments of the administration.

It must be added that, while engaged in this most arduous task, he was constantly trammeled by orders from home and frequently borne down by a majority in Council. The preservation of an Empire from a formidable combination of foreign enemies, the construction of a government in all its parts, were accomplished by him, while every ship brought out bales of censure from his employers, and while the records of every consultation were filled with acrimonious minutes by his colleagues. We believe that there never was a public man whose temper was so severely tried; not Marlborough, when thwarted by the Dutch Deputies; not Wellington, when he had to deal at once with the Portuguese Regency, the Spanish Juntas, and Mr. Percival. But the temper of Hastings was equal to almost any trial. It was not sweet; but it was calm. Quick and vigorous as his intellect was, the patience with which he endured the most cruel vexations, till a remedy could be found, resembled the patience of stupidity. He seems to have been capable of

resentment, bitter and long-enduring; yet his resentment so seldom hurried him into any blunder that it may be doubted whether what appeared to be revenge was anything but policy.

The effect of this singular equanimity was that he always had the full command of all the resources of one of the most fertile minds that ever existed. Accordingly no complication of perils and embarrassments could perplex him. For every difficulty he had a contrivance ready; and, whatever may be thought of the justice and humanity of some of his contrivances, it is certain that they seldom failed to serve the purpose for which they were designed.

Together with this extraordinary talent for devising expedients, Hastings possessed, in a very high degree, another talent scarcely less necessary to a man in his situation; we mean the talent for conducting political controversy. It is as necessary to an English statesman in the East that he should be able to write, as it is to a minister in this country that he should be able to speak. It is chiefly by the oratory of a public man here that the nation judges of his powers. It is from the letters and reports of a public man in India that the dispensers of patronage form their estimate of him. In each case the talent which receives peculiar encouragement is developed, perhaps at the expense of the other powers. In this country we sometimes hear men speak above their abilities. It is not very unusual to find gentlemen in the Indian service who write above their abilities. The English politician is a little too much of a debater; the Indian politician is a little too much of an essayist.

Of the numerous servants of the Company who have distinguished themselves as framers of minutes and dispatches, Hastings stands at the head. He was, indeed, the person who gave to the official writing of the Indian governments the character which it still retains. He was matched against no common antagonist. But even Francis was forced to acknowledge, with sullen and resentful candor, that there was no contending against

the pen of Hastings. And, in truth, the Governor-General's power of making out a case, of perplexing what it was inconvenient that people should understand, and of setting in the clearest point of view whatever would bear the light, was incomparable. His style must be praised with some reservation. It was in general forcible, pure, and polished; but it was sometimes, though not often, turgid, and, on one or two occasions, even bombastic. Perhaps the fondness of Hastings for Persian literature may have tended to corrupt his taste.

And, since we have referred to his literary tastes, it would be most unjust not to praise the judicious encouragement which, as a ruler, he gave to liberal studies and curious researches. His patronage was extended, with prudent generosity, to voyages, travels, experiments, publications. He did little, it is true, towards introducing into India the learning of the West. To make the young natives of Bengal familiar with Milton and Adam Smith, to substitute the geography, astronomy, and surgery of Europe for the dotages of the Brahminical superstition, or for the imperfect science of ancient Greece transfused through Arabian expositions, this was a scheme reserved to crown the beneficent administration of a far more virtuous ruler. Still, it is impossible to refuse high commendation to a man who, taken from a ledger to govern an empire, overwhelmed by public business, surrounded by people as busy as himself, and separated by thousands of leagues from almost all literary society, gave, both by his example and by his munificence, a great impulse to learning. In Persian and Arabic literature he was deeply skilled. With the Sanskrit he was not himself acquainted; but those who first brought that language to the knowledge of European students owed much to his encouragement. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society commenced its honorable career. That distinguished body selected him to be its first president; but, with excellent taste and feeling, he declined the honor in favor of Sir William Jones. But the chief advantage which

the students of Oriental letters derived from his patronage remains to be mentioned. The Pundits of Bengal had always looked with great jealousy on the attempts of foreigners to pry into those mysteries which were locked up in the sacred dialect. Their religion had been persecuted by the Mohammedans. What they knew of the spirit of the Portuguese Government might warrant them in apprehending persecution from Christians. That apprehension the wisdom and moderation of Hastings removed. He was the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India, and who induced them to lay open to English scholars the secrets of the old Brahminical theology and jurisprudence.

It is indeed impossible to deny that, in the great art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and attachment, no ruler ever surpassed Hastings. If he had made himself popular with the English by giving up the Bengalese to extortion and oppression, or if, on the other hand, he had conciliated the Bengalese and alienated the English, there would have been no cause for wonder. What is peculiar to him is that, being the chief of a small band of strangers who exercised boundless power over a great indigenous population, he made himself beloved both by the subject many and by the dominant few. The affection felt for him by the civil service was singularly ardent and constant. Through all his disasters and perils his brethren stood by him with steadfast loyalty. The army, at the same time, loved him as armies have seldom loved any but the greatest chiefs who have led them to victory. Even in his disputes with distinguished military men he could always count on the support of the military profession. While such was his empire over the hearts of his countrymen, he enjoyed among the natives a popularity such as other governors have perhaps better merited, but such as no other governor has been able to attain. He spoke their vernacular dialects with facility and precision. He was intimately acquainted with their feelings and

usages. On one or two occasions, for great ends, he deliberately acted in defiance of their opinion; but on such occasions he gained more in their respect than he lost in their love. In general he carefully avoided all that could shock their national or religious prejudices. His administration was indeed in many respects faulty; but the Bengalese standard of good government was not high. Under the Nabobs the hurricane of Mahratta cavalry had passed annually over the rich alluvial plain. But even the Mahratta shrank from a conflict with the mighty children of the sea; and the immense rice harvests of the Lower Ganges were safely gathered in, under the protection of the English sword. The first English conquerors had been more rapacious and merciless even than the Mahrattas; but that generation had passed away. Defective as was the police, heavy as were the public burdens, it is probable that the oldest man in Bengal could not recollect a season of equal security and prosperity. For the first time within living memory the province was placed under a government strong enough to prevent others from robbing, and not inclined to play the robber itself. These things inspired good will. At the same time the constant success of Hastings and the manner in which he extricated himself from every difficulty made him an object of superstitious admiration; and the more than regal splendor which he sometimes displayed dazzled a people who have much in common with children. Even now, after the lapse of more than fifty years, the natives of India still talk of him as the greatest of the English; and nurses sing children to sleep with a jingling ballad about the fleet horses and richly caparisoned elephants of Sahib Warren Hostein.

The gravest offenses of which Hastings was guilty did not affect his popularity with the people of Bengal; for those offenses were committed against neighboring states. Those offenses, as our readers must have perceived, we are not disposed to vindicate; yet, in order that the censure may be justly

apportioned to the transgression, it is fit that the motive of the criminal should be taken into consideration. The motive which prompted the worst acts of Hastings was misdirected and ill-regulated public spirit. The rules of justice, the sentiments of humanity, the plighted faith of treaties, were in his view as nothing, when opposed to the immediate interest of the state. This is no justification, according to the principles either of morality, or of what we believe to be identical with morality, namely, far-sighted policy. Nevertheless the common sense of mankind, which in questions of this sort seldom goes far wrong, will always recognize a distinction between crimes which originate in an inordinate zeal for the commonwealth, and crimes which originate in selfish cupidity. To the benefit of this distinction Hastings is fairly entitled. There is, we conceive, no reason to suspect that the Rohilla war, the revolution of Benares, or the spoliation of the Princesses of Oude added a rupee to his fortune. We will not affirm that, in all pecuniary dealings, he showed that punctilious integrity, that dread of the faintest appearance of evil, which is now the glory of the Indian civil service. But when the school in which he had been trained and the temptations to which he was exposed are considered, we are more inclined to praise him for his general uprightness with respect to money, than rigidly to blame him for a few transactions which would now be called indelicate and irregular, but which even now would hardly be designated as corrupt. A rapacious man he certainly was not. Had he been so, he would infallibly have returned to his country the richest subject in Europe. We speak within compass when we say that, without applying any extraordinary pressure, he might easily have obtained from the zemindars of the Company's provinces and from neighboring princes, in the course of thirteen years, more than three millions sterling, and might have outshone the splendor of Carlton House and of the *Palais Royal*. He brought home a fortune such as a Governor-General, fond of state and

careless of thrift, might easily, during so long a tenure of office, save out of his legal salary. Mrs. Hastings, we are afraid, was less scrupulous. It was generally believed that she accepted presents with great alacrity, and that she thus formed, without the connivance of her husband, a private hoard amounting to several lacs of rupees. We are the more inclined to give credit to this story, because Mr. Gleig, who cannot but have heard it, does not, as far as we have observed, notice or contradict it.

The influence of Mrs. Hastings over her husband was indeed such that she might easily have obtained much larger sums than she was ever accused of receiving. At length her health began to give way; and the Governor-General, much against his will, was compelled to send her to England. He seems to have loved her with that love which is peculiar to men of strong minds, to men whose affection is not easily won or widely diffused. The talk of Calcutta ran for some time on the luxurious manner in which he fitted up the roundhouse of an Indiaman for her accommodation, on the profusion of sandalwood and carved ivory which adorned her cabin, and on the thousands of rupees which had been expended in order to procure for her the society of an agreeable female companion during the voyage. We may remark here that the letters of Hastings to his wife are exceedingly characteristic. They are tender and full of indications of esteem and confidence, but at the same time a little more ceremonious than is usual in so intimate a relation. The solemn courtesy with which he compliments "his elegant Marian" reminds us now and then of the dignified air with which Sir Charles Grandison bowed over Miss Byron's hand in the cedar parlor.

After some months Hastings prepared to follow his wife to England. When it was announced that he was about to quit his office, the feeling of the society which he had so long governed manifested itself by many signs. Addresses poured in from

Europeans and Asiatics, from civil functionaries, soldiers, and traders. On the day on which he delivered up the keys of office, a crowd of friends and admirers formed a lane to the quay where he embarked. Several barges escorted him far down the river; and some attached friends refused to quit him till the low coast of Bengal was fading from the view, and till the pilot was leaving the ship.

Of his voyage little is known, except that he amused himself with books and with his pen; and that among the compositions by which he beguiled the tediousness of that long leisure was a pleasing imitation of Horace's *Otium divos rogat*. This little poem was inscribed to Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a man of whose integrity, humanity, and honor it is impossible to speak too highly; but who, like some other excellent members of the civil service, extended to the conduct of his friend Hastings an indulgence of which his own conduct never stood in need.

The voyage was, for those times, very speedy. Hastings was little more than four months on the sea. In June, 1785, he landed at Plymouth, posted to London, appeared at Court, paid his respects in Leadenhall Street, and then retired with his wife to Cheltenham.

He was greatly pleased with his reception. The King treated him with marked distinction. The Queen, who had already incurred much censure on account of the favor which, in spite of the ordinary severity of her virtue, she had shown to the "elegant Marian," was not less gracious to Hastings. The Directors received him in a solemn sitting; and their chairman read to him a vote of thanks which they had passed without one dissentient voice. "I find myself," said Hastings, in a letter written about a quarter of a year after his arrival in England, "I find myself everywhere, and universally, treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of my country."

The confident and exulting tone of his correspondence about this time is the more remarkable because he had already received ample notice of the attack which was in preparation. Within a week after he landed at Plymouth, Burke gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion seriously affecting a gentleman lately returned from India. The session, however, was then so far advanced that it was impossible to enter on so extensive and important a subject.

Hastings, it is clear, was not sensible of the danger of his position. Indeed, that sagacity, that judgment, that readiness in devising expedients, which had distinguished him in the East, seemed now to have forsaken him; not that his abilities were at all impaired; not that he was not still the same man who had triumphed over Francis and Nuncomar, who had made the Chief Justice and the Nabob Vizier his tools, who had deposed Cheyte Sing, and repelled Hyder Ali. But an oak, as Mr. Grattan finely said, should not be transplanted at fifty. A man who, having left England when a boy, returns to it after thirty or forty years passed in India, will find, be his talents what they may, that he has much both to learn and to unlearn before he can take a place among English statesmen. The working of a representative system, the war of parties, the arts of debate, the influence of the press, are startling novelties to him. Surrounded on every side by new machines and new tactics, he is as much bewildered as Hannibal would have been at Waterloo, or Themistocles at Trafalgar. His very acuteness deludes him. His very vigor causes him to stumble. The more correct his maxims, when applied to the state of society to which he is accustomed, the more certain they are to lead him astray. This was strikingly the case with Hastings. In India he had a bad hand; but he was master of the game, and he won every stake. In England he held excellent cards, if he had known how to play them; and it was chiefly by his own errors that he was brought to the verge of ruin.

Of all his errors the most serious was perhaps the choice of a champion. Clive, in similar circumstances, had made a singularly happy selection. He put himself into the hands of Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, one of the few great advocates who have also been great in the House of Commons. To the defense of Clive, therefore, nothing was wanting, neither learning nor knowledge of the world, neither forensic acuteness nor that eloquence which charms political assemblies. Hastings intrusted his interests to a very different person, a major in the Bengal army, named Scott. This gentleman had been sent over from India some time before as the agent of the Governor-General. It was rumored that his services were rewarded with Oriental munificence; and we believe that he received much more than Hastings could conveniently spare. The Major obtained a seat in Parliament, and was there regarded as the organ of his employer. It was evidently impossible that a gentleman so situated could speak with the authority which belongs to an independent position. Nor had the agent of Hastings the talents necessary for obtaining the ear of an assembly which, accustomed to listen to great orators, had naturally become fastidious. He was always on his legs; he was very tedious; and he had only one topic, the merits and wrongs of Hastings. Everybody who knows the House of Commons will easily guess what followed. The Major was soon considered as the greatest bore of his time. His exertions were not confined to Parliament. There was hardly a day on which the newspapers did not contain some puff upon Hastings signed by *Asiaticus* or *Bengalensis*, but known to be written by the indefatigable Scott; and hardly a month in which some bulky pamphlet on the same subject, and from the same pen, did not pass to the trunk makers and the pastry cooks. As to this gentleman's capacity for conducting a delicate question through Parliament, our readers will want no evidence beyond that which they will find in letters preserved in these volumes. We will give

a single specimen of his temper and judgment. He designated the greatest man then living as "that reptile Mr. Burke."

In spite, however, of this unfortunate choice, the general aspect of affairs was favorable to Hastings. The King was on his side. The Company and its servants were zealous in his cause. Among public men he had many ardent friends. Such were Lord Mansfield, who had outlived the vigor of his body, but not that of his mind; and Lord Lansdowne, who, though unconnected with any party, retained the importance which belongs to great talents and knowledge. The ministers were generally believed to be favorable to the late Governor-General. They owed their power to the clamor which had been raised against Mr. Fox's East India Bill. The authors of that bill, when accused of invading vested rights, and of setting up powers unknown to the constitution, had defended themselves by pointing to the crimes of Hastings, and by arguing that abuses so extraordinary justified extraordinary measures. Those who, by opposing that bill, had raised themselves to the head of affairs, would naturally be inclined to extenuate the evils which had been made the plea for administering so violent a remedy; and such, in fact, was their general disposition. The Lord Chancellor Thurlow, in particular, whose great place and force of intellect gave him a weight in the Government inferior only to that of Mr. Pitt, espoused the cause of Hastings with indecorous violence. Mr. Pitt, though he had censured many parts of the Indian system, had studiously abstained from saying a word against the late chief of the Indian government. To Major Scott, indeed, the young minister had in private extolled Hastings as a great, a wonderful man, who had the highest claims on the Government. There was only one objection to granting all that so eminent a servant of the public could ask. The resolution of censure still remained on the Journals of the House of Commons. That resolution was, indeed, unjust; but, till it was rescinded, could the minister

advise the King to bestow any mark of approbation on the person censured? If Major Scott is to be trusted, Mr. Pitt declared that this was the only reason which prevented the Government from conferring a peerage on the late Governor-General. Mr. Dundas was the only important member of the administration who was deeply committed to a different view of the subject. He had moved the resolutions which created the difficulty; but even from him little was to be apprehended. Since he presided over the committee on Eastern affairs, great changes had taken place. He was surrounded by new allies; he had fixed his hopes on new objects; and whatever may have been his good qualities, — and he had many, — flattery itself never reckoned rigid consistency in the number.

From the ministry, therefore, Hastings had every reason to expect support; and the ministry was very powerful. The Opposition was loud and vehement against him. But the Opposition, though formidable from the wealth and influence of some of its members, and from the admirable talents and eloquence of others, was outnumbered in Parliament and odious throughout the country. Nor, as far as we can judge, was the Opposition generally desirous to engage in so serious an undertaking as the impeachment of an Indian Governor. Such an impeachment must last for years. It must impose on the chiefs of the party an immense load of labor. Yet it could scarcely, in any manner, affect the event of the great political game. The followers of the coalition were therefore more inclined to revile Hastings than to prosecute him. They lost no opportunity of coupling his name with the names of the most hateful tyrants of whom history makes mention. The wits of Brooks's aimed their keenest sarcasms both at his public and at his domestic life. Some fine diamonds which he had presented, as it was rumored, to the royal family, and a certain richly carved ivory bed which the Queen had done him the honor to accept from him, were favorite subjects of ridicule. One lively poet proposed

that the great acts of the fair Marian's present husband should be immortalized by the pencil of his predecessor; and that Imhoff should be employed to embellish the House of Commons with paintings of the bleeding Rohillas, of Nuncomar swinging, of Cheyte Sing letting himself down to the Ganges. Another, in an exquisitely humorous parody of Vergil's third eclogue, propounded the question what that mineral could be, of which the rays had power to make the most austere of princesses the friend of a wanton. A third described, with gay malevolence, the gorgeous appearance of Mrs. Hastings at St. James's, the galaxy of jewels, torn from Indian Begums, which adorned her headdress, her necklace gleaming with future votes, and the depending questions that shone upon her ears. Satirical attacks of this description, and perhaps a motion for a vote of censure, would have satisfied the great body of the Opposition. But there were two men whose indignation was not to be so appeased, Philip Francis and Edmund Burke.

Francis had recently entered the House of Commons, and had already established a character there for industry and talent. He labored indeed under one most unfortunate defect, want of fluency. But he occasionally expressed himself with a dignity and energy worthy of the greatest orators. Before he had been many days in Parliament, he incurred the bitter dislike of Pitt, who constantly treated him with as much asperity as the laws of debate would allow. Neither lapse of years nor change of scene had mitigated the enmities which Francis had brought back from the East. After his usual fashion, he mistook his malevolence for virtue, nursed it, as preachers tell us that we ought to nurse our good dispositions, and paraded it, on all occasions, with Pharisaical ostentation.

The zeal of Burke was still fiercer; but it was far purer. Men unable to understand the elevation of his mind have tried to find out some discreditable motive for the vehemence and pertinacity which he showed on this occasion. But they have

altogether failed. The idle story that he had some private slight to revenge has long been given up, even by the advocates of Hastings. Mr. Gleig supposes that Burke was actuated by party spirit, that he retained a bitter remembrance of the fall of the coalition, that he attributed that fall to the exertions of the East India interest, and that he considered Hastings as the head and the representative of that interest. This explanation seems to be sufficiently refuted by a reference to dates. The hostility of Burke to Hastings commenced long before the coalition; and lasted long after Burke had become a strenuous supporter of those by whom the coalition had been defeated. It began when Burke and Fox, closely allied together, were attacking the influence of the crown and calling for peace with the American republic. It continued till Burke, alienated from Fox and loaded with the favors of the crown, died, preaching a crusade against the French republic. It seems absurd to attribute to the events of 1784 an enmity which began in 1781, and which retained undiminished force long after persons far more deeply implicated than Hastings in the events of 1784 had been cordially forgiven. And why should we look for any other explanation of Burke's conduct than that which we find on the surface? The plain truth is that Hastings had committed some great crimes, and that the thought of those crimes made the blood of Burke boil in his veins. For Burke was a man in whom compassion for suffering and hatred of injustice and tyranny were as strong as in Las Casas or Clarkson. And although in him, as in Las Casas and in Clarkson, these noble feelings were alloyed with the infirmity which belongs to human nature, he is, like them, entitled to this great praise, that he devoted years of intense labor to the service of a people with whom he had neither blood nor language, neither religion nor manners in common, and from whom no requital, no thanks, no applause could be expected.

His knowledge of India was such as few even of those Europeans who have passed many years in that country have attained,

and such as certainly was never attained by any public man who had not quitted Europe. He had studied the history, the laws, and the usages of the East with an industry such as is seldom found united to so much genius and so much sensibility. Others have perhaps been equally laborious, and have collected an equal mass of materials. But the manner in which Burke brought his higher powers of intellect to work on statements of facts and on tables of figures was peculiar to himself. In every part of those huge bales of Indian information which repelled almost all other readers, his mind, at once philosophical and poetical, found something to instruct or to delight. His reason analyzed and digested those vast and shapeless masses; his imagination animated and colored them. Out of darkness, and dullness, and confusion, he formed a multitude of ingenious theories and vivid pictures. He had, in the highest degree, that noble faculty whereby man is able to live in the past and in the future, in the distant and in the unreal. India and its inhabitants were not to him, as to most Englishmen, mere names and abstractions, but a real country and a real people. The burning sun, the strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa tree, the rice field, the tank, the huge trees, older than the Mogul empire, under which the village crowds assemble, the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, the rich tracery of the mosque where the imaum prays with his face to Mecca, the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols, the devotees swinging in the air, the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the riverside, the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect, the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces, the elephants with their canopies of state, the gorgeous palanquin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady, all those things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed, as the objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield and St. James's Street. All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and

perfumes at the feet of sovereigns, to the wild moor where the gypsy camp was pitched; from the bazaars, humming like beehives with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyenas. He had just as lively an idea of the insurrection at Benares as of Lord George Gordon's riots, and of the execution of Nuncomar as of the execution of Dr. Dodd. Oppression in Bengal was to him the same thing as oppression in the streets of London.

He saw that Hastings had been guilty of some most unjustifiable acts. All that followed was natural and necessary in a mind like Burke's. His imagination and his passions, once excited, hurried him beyond the bounds of justice and good sense. His reason, powerful as it was, became the slave of feelings which it should have controlled. His indignation, virtuous in its origin, acquired too much of the character of personal aversion. He could see no mitigating circumstance, no redeeming merit. His temper, which, though generous and affectionate, had always been irritable, had now been made almost savage by bodily infirmities and mental vexations. Conscious of great powers and great virtues, he found himself, in age and poverty, a mark for the hatred of a perfidious court and a deluded people. In Parliament his eloquence was out of date. A young generation, which knew him not, had filled the House. Whenever he rose to speak, his voice was drowned by the unseemly interruptions of lads who were in their cradles when his orations on the Stamp Act called forth the applause of the great Earl of Chatham. These things had produced on his proud and sensitive spirit an effect at which we cannot wonder. He could no longer discuss any question with calmness or make allowance for honest differences of opinion. Those who think that he was more violent and acrimonious in debates about India than on other occasions are ill informed respecting the last years of his life. In the discussions on the Commercial Treaty with the

Court of Versailles, on the Regency, on the French Revolution, he showed even more virulence than in conducting the impeachment. Indeed, it may be remarked that the very persons who called him a mischievous maniac, for condemning in burning words the Rohilla war and the spoliation of the Begums, exalted him into a prophet as soon as he began to declaim, with greater vehemence and not with greater reason, against the taking of the Bastille and the insults offered to Marie Antoinette. To us he appears to have been neither a maniac in the former case, nor a prophet in the latter, but in both cases a great and good man, led into extravagance by a tempestuous sensibility which domineered over all his faculties.

It may be doubted whether the personal antipathy of Francis or the nobler indignation of Burke would have led their party to adopt extreme measures against Hastings, if his own conduct had been judicious. He should have felt that, great as his public services had been, he was not faultless; and should have been content to make his escape, without aspiring to the honors of a triumph. He and his agent took a different view. They were impatient for the rewards which, as they conceived, were deferred only till Burke's attack should be over. They accordingly resolved to force on a decisive action, with an enemy for whom, if they had been wise, they would have made a bridge of gold. On the first day of the session of 1786 Major Scott reminded Burke of the notice given in the preceding year, and asked whether it was seriously intended to bring any charge against the late Governor-General. This challenge left no course open to the Opposition except to come forward as accusers or to acknowledge themselves calumniators. The administration of Hastings had not been so blameless, nor was the great party of Fox and North so feeble, that it could be prudent to venture on so bold a defiance. The leaders of the Opposition instantly returned the only answer which they could with honor return; and the whole party was irrevocably pledged to a prosecution.

Burke began his operations by applying for papers. Some of the documents for which he asked were refused by the ministers, who, in the debate, held language such as strongly confirmed the prevailing opinion that they intended to support Hastings. In April the charges were laid on the table. They had been drawn by Burke with great ability, though in a form too much resembling that of a pamphlet. Hastings was furnished with a copy of the accusation; and it was intimated to him that he might, if he thought fit, be heard in his own defense at the bar of the Commons.

Here again Hastings was pursued by the same fatality which had attended him ever since the day when he set foot on English ground. It seemed to be decreed that this man, so politic and so successful in the East, should commit nothing but blunders in Europe. Any judicious adviser would have told him that the best thing which he could do would be to make an eloquent, forcible, and affecting oration at the bar of the House; but that, if he could not trust himself to speak, and found it necessary to read, he ought to be as concise as possible. Audiences accustomed to extemporaneous debating of the highest excellence are always impatient of long written compositions. Hastings, however, sat down as he would have done at the Government House in Bengal, and prepared a paper of immense length. That paper, if recorded on the consultations of an Indian administration, would have been justly praised as a very able minute. But it was now out of place. It fell flat, as the best written defense must have fallen flat, on an assembly accustomed to the animated and strenuous conflicts of Pitt and Fox. The members, as soon as their curiosity about the face and demeanor of so eminent a stranger was satisfied, walked away to dinner, and left Hastings to tell his story till midnight to the clerks and the Sergeant at arms.

All preliminary steps having been duly taken, Burke, in the beginning of June, brought forward the charge relating to the

Rohilla war. He acted discreetly in placing this accusation in the van; for Dundas had formerly moved, and the House had adopted, a resolution condemning, in the most severe terms, the policy followed by Hastings with regard to Rohilcund. Dundas had little, or rather nothing, to say in defense of his own consistency; but he put a bold face on the matter and opposed the motion. Among other things, he declared that, though he still thought the Rohilla war unjustifiable, he considered the services which Hastings had subsequently rendered to the state as sufficient to atone even for so great an offense. Pitt did not speak, but voted with Dundas; and Hastings was absolved by a hundred and nineteen votes against sixty-seven.

Hastings was now confident of victory. It seemed, indeed, that he had reason to be so. The Rohilla war was, of all his measures, that which his accusers might with greatest advantage assail. It had been condemned by the Court of Directors. It had been condemned by the House of Commons. It had been condemned by Mr. Dundas, who had since become the chief minister of the Crown for Indian affairs. Yet Burke, having chosen this strong ground, had been completely defeated on it. That, having failed here, he should succeed on any point, was generally thought impossible. It was rumored at the clubs and coffeehouses that one or perhaps two more charges would be brought forward; that if, on those charges, the sense of the House of Commons should be against impeachment, the Opposition would let the matter drop; that Hastings would be immediately raised to the peerage, decorated with the star of the Bath, sworn of the Privy Council, and invited to lend the assistance of his talents and experience to the India board. Lord Thurlow, indeed, some months before, had spoken with contempt of the scruples which prevented Pitt from calling Hastings to the House of Lords; and had even said that, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer was afraid of the Commons, there was nothing to prevent the Keeper of the Great Seal from taking the royal

pleasure about a patent of peerage. The very title was chosen. Hastings was to be Lord Daylesford. For, through all changes of scene and changes of fortune, remained unchanged his attachment to the spot which had witnessed the greatness and the fall of his family, and which had borne so great a part in the first dreams of his young ambition.

But in a very few days these fair prospects were overcast. On the thirteenth of June Mr. Fox brought forward, with great ability and eloquence, the charge respecting the treatment of Cheyte Sing. Francis followed on the same side. The friends of Hastings were in high spirits when Pitt rose. With his usual abundance and felicity of language, the Minister gave his opinion on the case. He maintained that the Governor-General was justified in calling on the Rajah of Benares for pecuniary assistance and in imposing a fine when that assistance was contumaciously withheld. He also thought that the conduct of the Governor-General during the insurrection had been distinguished by ability and presence of mind. He censured, with great bitterness, the conduct of Francis, both in India and in Parliament, as most dishonest and malignant. The necessary inference from Pitt's arguments seemed to be that Hastings ought to be honorably acquitted; and both the friends and the opponents of the Minister expected from him a declaration to that effect. To the astonishment of all parties, he concluded by saying that, though he thought it right in Hastings to fine Cheyte Sing for contumacy, yet the amount of the fine was too great for the occasion. On this ground, and on this ground alone, did Mr. Pitt, applauding every other part of the conduct of Hastings with regard to Benares, declare that he should vote in favor of Mr. Fox's motion.

The House was thunderstruck; and it well might be so. For the wrong done to Cheyte Sing, even had it been as flagitious as Fox and Francis contended, was a trifle when compared with the horrors which had been inflicted on Rohilcund. But if Mr.

Pitt's view of the case of Cheyte Sing were correct, there was no ground for an impeachment or even for a vote of censure. If the offense of Hastings was really no more than this, that, having a right to impose a mulct, the amount of which mulct was not defined, but was left to be settled by his discretion, he had, not for his own advantage, but for that of the state, demanded too much, was this an offense which required a criminal proceeding of the highest solemnity, a criminal proceeding, to which, during sixty years, no public functionary had been subjected? We can see, we think, in what way a man of sense and integrity might have been induced to take any course respecting Hastings, except the course which Mr. Pitt took. Such a man might have thought a great example necessary, for the preventing of injustice, and for the vindicating of the national honor, and might, on that ground, have voted for impeachment both on the Rohilla charge and on the Benares charge. Such a man might have thought that the offenses of Hastings had been atoned for by great services, and might, on that ground, have voted against the impeachment, on both charges. With great diffidence we give it as our opinion that the most correct course would, on the whole, have been to impeach on the Rohilla charge and to acquit on the Benares charge. Had the Benares charge appeared to us in the same light in which it appeared to Mr. Pitt, we should, without hesitation, have voted for acquittal on that charge. The one course which it is inconceivable that any man of a tenth part of Mr. Pitt's abilities can have honestly taken was the course which he took. He acquitted Hastings on the Rohilla charge. He softened down the Benares charge till it became no charge at all; and then he pronounced that it contained matter for impeachment.

Nor must it be forgotten that the principal reason assigned by the ministry for not impeaching Hastings on account of the Rohilla war was this, that the delinquencies of the early part of his administration had been atoned for by the excellence of the

later part. Was it not most extraordinary that men who had held this language could afterwards vote that the later part of his administration furnished matter for no less than twenty articles of impeachment? They first represented the conduct of Hastings in 1780 and 1781 as so highly meritorious that, like works of supererogation in the Catholic theology, it ought to be efficacious for the canceling of former offenses; and they then prosecuted him for his conduct in 1780 and 1781.

The general astonishment was the greater, because, only twenty-four hours before, the members on whom the Minister could depend had received the usual notes from the Treasury, begging them to be in their places and to vote against Mr. Fox's motion. It was asserted by Mr. Hastings that, early on the morning of the very day on which the debate took place, Dundas called on Pitt, woke him, and was closeted with him many hours. The result of this conference was a determination to give up the late Governor-General to the vengeance of the Opposition. It was impossible even for the most powerful minister to carry all his followers with him in so strange a course. Several persons high in office, the Attorney-General, Mr. Glenville, and Lord Mulgrave, divided against Mr. Pitt. But the devoted adherents who stood by the head of the Government without asking questions were sufficiently numerous to turn the scale. A hundred and nineteen members voted for Mr. Fox's motion; seventy-nine against it. Dundas silently followed Pitt.

That good and great man, the late William Wilberforce, often related the events of this remarkable night. He described the amazement of the House, and the bitter reflections which were muttered against the Prime Minister by some of the habitual supporters of government. Pitt himself appeared to feel that his conduct required some explanation. He left the Treasury bench, sat for some time next to Mr. Wilberforce, and very earnestly declared that he had found it impossible, as a man of conscience, to stand any longer by Hastings. The business, he

said, was too bad. Mr. Wilberforce, we are bound to add, fully believed that his friend was sincere, and that the suspicions to which this mysterious affair gave rise were altogether unfounded.

Those suspicions, indeed, were such as it is painful to mention. The friends of Hastings, most of whom, it is to be observed, generally supported the administration, affirmed that the motive of Pitt and Dundas was jealousy. Hastings was personally a favorite with the King. He was the idol of the East India Company and of its servants. If he were absolved by the Commons, seated among the Lords, admitted to the Board of Control, closely allied with the strong-minded and imperious Thurlow, was it not almost certain that he would soon draw to himself the entire management of Eastern affairs? Was it not possible that he might become a formidable rival in the cabinet? It had probably got abroad that very singular communications had taken place between Thurlow and Major Scott, and that, if the First Lord of the Treasury was afraid to recommend Hastings for a peerage, the Chancellor was ready to take the responsibility of that step on himself. Of all ministers, Pitt was the least likely to submit with patience to such an encroachment on his functions. If the Commons impeached Hastings, all danger was at an end. The proceeding, however it might terminate, would probably last some years. In the meantime the accused person would be excluded from honors and public employments, and could scarcely venture even to pay his duty at Court. Such were the motives attributed by a great part of the public to the young Minister, whose ruling passion was generally believed to be avarice of power.

The prorogation soon interrupted the discussions respecting Hastings. In the following year those discussions were resumed. The charge touching the spoliation of the Begums was brought forward by Sheridan, in a speech which was so imperfectly reported that it may be said to be wholly lost, but which was, without doubt, the most elaborately brilliant of all the productions of

his ingenious mind. The impression which it produced was such as has never been equaled. He sat down, not merely amidst cheering, but amidst the loud clapping of hands, in which the Lords below the bar and the strangers in the gallery joined. The excitement of the House was such that no other speaker could obtain a hearing; and the debate was adjourned. The ferment spread fast through the town. Within four and twenty hours Sheridan was offered a thousand pounds for the copyright of the speech, if he would himself correct it for the press. The impression made by this remarkable display of eloquence on severe and experienced critics, whose discernment may be supposed to have been quickened by emulation, was deep and permanent. Mr. Windham, twenty years later, said that the speech deserved all its fame, and was, in spite of some faults of taste, such as were seldom wanting either in the literary or in the parliamentary performances of Sheridan, the finest that had been delivered within the memory of man. Mr. Fox, about the same time, being asked by the late Lord Holland what was the best speech ever made in the House of Commons, assigned the first place, without hesitation, to the great oration of Sheridan on the Oude charge.

When the debate was resumed, the tide ran so strongly against the accused that his friends were coughed and scraped down. Pitt declared himself for Sheridan's motion; and the question was carried by a hundred and seventy-five votes against sixty-eight.

The Opposition, flushed with victory and strongly supported by the public sympathy, proceeded to bring forward a succession of charges relating chiefly to pecuniary transactions. The friends of Hastings were discouraged, and, having now no hope of being able to avert an impeachment, were not very strenuous in their exertions. At length the House, having agreed to twenty articles of charge, directed Burke to go before the Lords and to impeach the late Governor-General of High Crimes and

Misdemeanors. Hastings was at the same time arrested by the Sergeant at arms, and carried to the bar of the Peers.

The session was now within ten days of its close. It was, therefore, impossible that any progress could be made in the trial till the next year. Hastings was admitted to bail; and further proceedings were postponed till the Houses should reassemble.

When Parliament met in the following winter, the Commons proceeded to elect a committee for managing the impeachment. Burke stood at the head, and with him were associated most of the leading members of the Opposition. But when the name of Francis was read a fierce contention arose. It was said that Francis and Hastings were notoriously on bad terms, that they had been at feud during many years, that on one occasion their mutual aversion had impelled them to seek each other's lives, and that it would be improper and indelicate to select a private enemy to be a public accuser. It was urged on the other side with great force, particularly by Mr. Windham, that impartiality, though the first duty of a judge, had never been reckoned among the qualities of an advocate; that in the ordinary administration of criminal justice among the English the aggrieved party, the very last person who ought to be admitted into the jury box, is the prosecutor; that what was wanted in a manager was, not that he should be free from bias, but that he should be able, well informed, energetic, and active. The ability and information of Francis were admitted; and the very animosity with which he was reproached, whether a virtue or a vice, was at least a pledge for his energy and activity. It seems difficult to refute these arguments. But the inveterate hatred borne by Francis to Hastings had excited general disgust. The House decided that Francis should not be a manager. Pitt voted with the majority, Dundas with the minority.

In the meantime the preparations for the trial had proceeded rapidly; and on the thirteenth of February, 1788, the sittings

of the Court commenced. There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewelry and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster; but, perhaps, there never was a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot, and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilization were now displayed, with every advantage that could be derived both from coöperation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of our constitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshiping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, the hall where Charles had confronted the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The Peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshaled by the heralds under Garter King-at-arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on

points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three fourths of the Upper House as the Upper House then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron present led the way, George Eliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defense of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the King. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing. The gray old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the Queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the Ambassadors of great Kings and Commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman Empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labors in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition, a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation,

but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There too was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticized, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and Treasury, shone round Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

The Sergeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country, and made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the Court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect, a high and intellectual forehead, a brow pensive, but not gloomy, a mouth of inflexible decision, a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council chamber at Calcutta, *Mens aequa in arduis;* such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges.

His counsel accompanied him, men all of whom were afterwards raised by their talents and learning to the highest posts in their profession, the bold and strong-minded Law, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench; the more humane and eloquent Dallas, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Plomer, who, near twenty years later, successfully

conducted in the same high court the defense of Lord Melville and subsequently became Vice Chancellor and Master of the Rolls.

But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery a space had been fitted up with green benches and tables for the Commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment; and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord North for the duties of public prosecutor; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the Lower House, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, the English Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham. Nor, though surrounded by such men, did the youngest manager pass unnoticed. At an age when most of those who distinguish themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships at college, he had won for himself a conspicuous place in Parliament. No advantage of fortune or connection was wanting that

could set off to the height his splendid talents and his unblemished honor. At twenty-three he had been thought worthy to be ranked with the veteran statesmen who appeared as the delegates of the British Commons, at the bar of the British nobility. All who stood at that bar, save him alone, are gone — culprit, advocates, accusers. To the generation which is now in the vigor of life he is the sole representative of a great age which has passed away. But those who, within the last ten years, have listened with delight, till the morning sun shone on the tapestries of the House of Lords, to the lofty and animated eloquence of Charles Earl Grey, are able to form some estimate of the powers of a race of men among whom he was not the foremost.

The charges and the answers of Hastings were first read. The ceremony occupied two whole days and was rendered less tedious than it would otherwise have been by the silver voice and just emphasis of Cowper, the clerk of the court, a near relation of the amiable poet. On the third day Burke rose. Four sittings were occupied by his opening speech, which was intended to be a general introduction to all the charges. With an exuberance of thought and a splendor of diction which more than satisfied the highly raised expectation of the audience, he described the character and institutions of the natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set forth the constitution of the Company and of the English Presidencies. Having thus attempted to communicate to his hearers an idea of Eastern society, as vivid as that which existed in his own mind, he proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings as systematically conducted in defiance of morality and public law. The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile Chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such

displays of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard; and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded, "Therefore," said he, "hath it with all confidence been ordered by the Commons of Great Britain that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors. I impeach him in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honor he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

When the deep murmur of various emotions had subsided, Mr. Fox rose to address the Lords respecting the course of proceeding to be followed. The wish of the accusers was that the Court would bring to a close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was that the managers should open all the charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defense began. The Lords retired to their own House to consider the question. The Chancellor took the side of Hastings. Lord Loughborough, who was now in opposition, supported the demand of the managers. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favor of the course for which Hastings contended.

When the Court sat again Mr. Fox, assisted by Mr. Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheyte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next

article was that relating to the Princesses of Oude. The conduct of this part of the case was intrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly finished declamation lasted two days; but the Hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been paid for a single ticket. Sheridan, when he concluded, contrived, with a knowledge of stage effect which his father might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke, who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration.

June was now far advanced. The session could not last much longer, and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution been heard; and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

The interest taken by the public in the trial was great when the Court began to sit, and rose to the height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the Begums. From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The great displays of rhetoric were over. What was behind was not of a nature to entice men of letters from their books in the morning or to tempt ladies who had left the masquerade at two to be out of bed before eight. There remained examinations and cross-examinations. There remained statements of accounts. There remained the reading of papers, filled with words unintelligible to English ears, with lacs and crores, zemindars and aumils, sunnuds and perwannahs, jaghires and nuzzurs. There remained bickerings, not always carried on with the best taste or with the best temper, between the managers of the impeachment and the counsel for the defense, particularly between Mr. Burke and Mr. Law. There remained the endless marches and countermarches of the Peers between their House and the Hall: for as often as a point of law was

to be discussed, their Lordships retired to discuss it apart; and the consequence was, as a peer wittily said, that the judges walked and the trial stood still.

It is to be added that, in the spring of 1788 when the trial commenced, no important question, either of domestic or foreign policy, excited the public mind. The proceeding in Westminster Hall, therefore, naturally attracted most of the attention of Parliament and of the public. It was the one great event of that season. But in the following year the King's illness, the debates on the Regency, the expectation of a change of ministry, completely diverted public attention from Indian affairs; and within a fortnight after George the Third had returned thanks in St. Paul's for his recovery, the States-General of France met at Versailles. In the midst of the agitation produced by these events the impeachment was for a time almost forgotten.

The trial in the Hall went on languidly. In the session of 1788, when the proceedings had the interest of novelty, and when the Peers had little other business before them, only thirty-five days were given to the impeachment. In 1789 the Regency Bill occupied the Upper House till the session was far advanced. When the King recovered, the circuits were beginning. The judges left town; the Lords waited for the return of the oracles of jurisprudence; and the consequence was that during the whole year only seventeen days were given to the case of Hastings. It was clear that the matter would be protracted to a length unprecedented in the annals of criminal law.

In truth, it is impossible to deny that impeachment, though it is a fine ceremony, and though it may have been useful in the seventeenth century, is not a proceeding from which much good can now be expected. Whatever confidence may be placed in the decisions of the Peers on an appeal arising out of ordinary litigation, it is certain that no man has the least confidence in their impartiality, when a great public functionary, charged with

a great state crime, is brought to their bar. They are all politicians. There is hardly one among them whose vote on an impeachment may not be confidently predicted before a witness has been examined; and, even if it were possible to rely on their justice, they would still be quite unfit to try such a cause as that of Hastings. They sit only during half the year. They have to transact much legislative and much judicial business. The law Lords, whose advice is required to guide the unlearned majority, are employed daily in administering justice elsewhere. It is impossible, therefore, that during a busy session the Upper House should give more than a few days to an impeachment. To expect that their Lordships would give up partridge shooting, in order to bring the greatest delinquent to speedy justice, or to relieve accused innocence by speedy acquittal, would be unreasonable indeed. A well-constituted tribunal, sitting regularly six days in the week, and nine hours in the day, would have brought the trial of Hastings to a close in less than three months. The Lords had not finished their work in seven years.

The result ceased to be matter of doubt, from the time when the Lords resolved that they would be guided by the rules of evidence which are received in the inferior courts of the realm. Those rules, it is well known, exclude much information which would be quite sufficient to determine the conduct of any reasonable man, in the most important transactions of private life. Those rules, at every assizes, save scores of culprits whom judges, jury, and spectators firmly believe to be guilty. But when those rules were rigidly applied to offenses committed many years before, at the distance of many thousand miles, conviction was, of course, out of the question. We do not blame the accused and his counsel for availing themselves of every legal advantage in order to obtain an acquittal. But it is clear that an acquittal so obtained cannot be pleaded in bar of the judgment of history.

Several attempts were made by the friends of Hastings to

put a stop to the trial. In 1789 they proposed a vote of censure upon Burke for some violent language which he had used respecting the death of Nuncomar and the connection between Hastings and Impey. Burke was then unpopular in the last degree both with the House and with the country. The asperity and indecency of some expressions which he had used during the debates on the Regency had annoyed even his warmest friends. The vote of censure was carried; and those who had moved it hoped that the managers would resign in disgust. Burke was deeply hurt. But his zeal for what he considered as the cause of justice and mercy triumphed over his personal feelings. He received the censure of the House with dignity and meekness and declared that no personal mortification or humiliation should induce him to flinch from the sacred duty which he had undertaken.

In the following year the Parliament was dissolved, and the friends of Hastings entertained a hope that the new House of Commons might not be disposed to go on with the impeachment. They began by maintaining that the whole proceeding was terminated by the dissolution. Defeated on this point, they made a direct motion that the impeachment should be dropped; but they were defeated by the combined forces of the Government and the Opposition. It was, however, resolved that, for the sake of expedition, many of the articles should be withdrawn. In truth, had not some such measure been adopted, the trial would have lasted till the defendant was in his grave.

At length, in the spring of 1795, the decision was pronounced, near eight years after Hastings had been brought by the Sergeant at arms of the Commons to the bar of the Lords. On the last day of this great procedure the public curiosity, long suspended, seemed to be revived. Anxiety about the judgment there could be none; for it had been fully ascertained that there was a great majority for the defendant. Nevertheless many wished to see the pageant, and the Hall was as much

crowded as on the first day. But those who, having been present on the first day, now bore a part in the proceedings of the last, were few; and most of those few were altered men.

As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another. The spectator could not look at the woolsack, or at the red benches of the Peers, or at the green benches of the Commons, without seeing something that reminded him of the instability of all human things, of the instability of power and fame and life, of the more lamentable instability of friendship. The great seal was borne before Lord Loughborough, who when the trial commenced was a fierce opponent of Mr. Pitt's government, and who was now a member of that government, while Thurlow, who presided in the Court when it first sat, estranged from all his old allies, sat scowling among the junior barons. Of about a hundred and sixty nobles who walked in the procession on the first day sixty had been laid in their family vaults. Still more affecting must have been the sight of the managers' box. What had become of that fair fellowship, so closely bound together by public and private ties, so resplendent with every talent and accomplishment? It had been scattered by calamities more bitter than the bitterness of death. The great chiefs were still living, and still in the full vigor of their genius. But their friendship was at an end. It had been violently and publicly dissolved with tears and stormy reproaches. If those men, once so dear to each other, were now compelled to meet for the purpose of managing the impeachment, they met as strangers whom public business had brought together, and behaved to each other with cold and distant civility. Burke had in his vortex whirled away Windham. Fox had been followed by Sheridan and Grey.

Only twenty-nine Peers voted. Of these only six found Hastings guilty on the charges relating to Cheyte Sing and to the Begums. On other charges the majority in his favor was

still greater. On some he was unanimously absolved. He was then called to the bar, was informed from the woolsack that the Lords had acquitted him, and was solemnly discharged. He bowed respectfully and retired.

We have said that the decision had been fully expected. It was also generally approved. At the commencement of the trial there had been a strong and indeed unreasonable feeling against Hastings. At the close of the trial there was a feeling equally strong and equally unreasonable in his favor. One cause of the change was, no doubt, what is commonly called the fickleness of the multitude, but what seems to us to be merely the general law of human nature. Both in individuals and in masses violent excitement is always followed by remission, and often by reaction. We are all inclined to depreciate whatever we have overpraised, and, on the other hand, to show undue indulgence where we have shown undue rigor. It was thus in the case of Hastings. The length of his trial, moreover, made him an object of compassion. It was thought, and not without reason, that, even if he was guilty, he was still an ill-used man, and that an impeachment of eight years was more than a sufficient punishment. It was also felt that, though, in the ordinary course of criminal law, a defendant is not allowed to set off his good actions against his crimes, a great political cause should be tried on different principles, and that a man who had governed an empire during thirteen years might have done some very reprehensible things, and yet might be on the whole deserving of rewards and honors rather than of fine and imprisonment. The press, an instrument neglected by the prosecutors, was used by Hastings and his friends with great effect. Every ship, too, that arrived from Madras or Bengal, brought a cuddy full of his admirers. Every gentleman from India spoke of the late Governor-General as having deserved better, and having been treated worse, than any man living. The effect of this testimony unanimously given by all persons who knew the

East, was naturally very great. Retired members of the Indian services, civil and military, were settled in all corners of the kingdom. Each of them was, of course, in his own little circle, regarded as an oracle on an Indian question; and they were, with scarcely one exception, the zealous advocates of Hastings. It is to be added, that the numerous addresses to the late Governor-General, which his friends in Bengal obtained from the natives and transmitted to England, made a considerable impression. To these addresses we attach little or no importance. That Hastings was beloved by the people whom he governed is true; but the eulogies of pundits, zemindars, Mohammedan doctors, do not prove it to be true. For an English collector or judge would have found it easy to induce any native who could write to sign a panegyric on the most odious ruler that ever was in India. It was said that at Benares — the very place at which the acts set forth in the first article of impeachment had been committed, — the natives had erected a temple to Hastings; and this story excited a strong sensation in England. Burke's observations on the apotheosis were admirable. He saw no reason for astonishment, he said, in the incident which had been represented as so striking. He knew something of the mythology of the Brahmins. He knew that as they worshiped some gods from love, so they worshiped others from fear. He knew that they erected shrines, not only to the benignant deities of light and plenty, but also to the fiends who preside over smallpox and murder. Nor did he at all dispute the claim of Mr. Hastings to be admitted into such a Pantheon. This reply has always struck us as one of the finest that ever was made in Parliament. It is a grave and forcible argument, decorated by the most brilliant wit and fancy.

Hastings was, however, safe. But in everything except character he would have been far better off if, when first impeached, he had at once pleaded guilty, and paid a fine of fifty thousand pounds. He was a ruined man. The legal expenses of his

defense had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear in his attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had been paid to Major Scott. Great sums had been laid out in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts. Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the House of Commons that twenty thousand pounds had been employed in corrupting the press. It is certain that no controversial weapon, from the gravest reasoning to the coarsest ribaldry, was left unemployed. Logan defended the accused Governor with great ability in prose. For the lovers of verse the speeches of the managers were burlesqued in Simpkin's letters. It is, we are afraid, indisputable that Hastings stooped so low as to court the aid of that malignant and filthy baboon, John Williams, who called himself Anthony Pasquin. It was necessary to subsidize such allies largely. The private hoards of Mrs. Hastings had disappeared. It is said that the banker to whom they had been intrusted had failed. Still, if Hastings had practiced strict economy, he would, after all his losses, have had a moderate competence; but in the management of his private affairs he was imprudent. The dearest wish of his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in the very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was accomplished; and the domain, alienated more than seventy years before, returned to the descendant of its old lords. But the manor house was a ruin; and the grounds round it had, during many years, been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to plant, to form a sheet of water, to excavate a grotto; and before he was dismissed from the bar of the House of Lords he had expended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

The general feeling both of the Directors and of the proprietors of the East India Company was that he had great claims on them, that his services to them had been eminent, and that his misfortunes had been the effect of his zeal for their interest. His friends in Leadenhall Street proposed to

reimburse him for the costs of his trial, and to settle on him an annuity of five thousand pounds a year. But the consent of the Board of Control was necessary; and at the head of the Board of Control was Mr. Dundas, who had himself been a party to the impeachment, who had, on that account, been reviled with great bitterness by the adherents of Hastings, and who, therefore, was not in a very complying mood. He refused to consent to what the Directors suggested. The Directors remonstrated. A long controversy followed. Hastings, in the meantime, was reduced to such distress that he could hardly pay his weekly bills. At length a compromise was made. An annuity of four thousand a year was settled on Hastings; and in order to enable him to meet pressing demands, he was to receive ten years' annuity in advance. The company was also permitted to lend him fifty thousand pounds, to be repaid by instalments without interest. This relief, though given in the most absurd manner, was sufficient to enable the retired Governor to live in comfort and even in luxury, if he had been a skillful manager. But he was careless and profuse, and was more than once under the necessity of applying to the Company for assistance, which was liberally given.

He had security and affluence, but not the power and dignity which, when he landed from India, he had reason to expect. He had then looked forward to a coronet, a red riband, a seat at the Council Board, an office at Whitehall. He was then only fifty-two, and might hope for many years of bodily and mental vigor. The case was widely different when he left the bar of the Lords. He was now too old a man to turn his mind to a new class of studies and duties. He had no chance of receiving any mark of royal favor while Mr. Pitt remained in power; and when Mr. Pitt retired Hastings was approaching his seventieth year.

Once, and only once, after his acquittal, he interfered in politics; and that interference was not much to his honor. In

1804 he exerted himself strenuously to prevent Mr. Addington, against whom Fox and Pitt had combined, from resigning the Treasury. It is difficult to believe that a man so able and energetic as Hastings can have thought that, when Bonaparte was at Boulogne with a great army, the defense of our island could safely be intrusted to a ministry which did not contain a single person whom flattery could describe as a great statesman. It is also certain that, on the important question which had raised Mr. Addington to power, and on which he differed from both Fox and Pitt, Hastings, as might have been expected, agreed with Fox and Pitt, and was decidedly opposed to Addington. Religious intolerance has never been the vice of the Indian service, and certainly was not the vice of Hastings. But Mr. Addington had treated him with marked favor. Fox had been a principal manager of the impeachment. To Pitt it was owing that there had been an impeachment; and Hastings, we fear, was on this occasion guided by personal considerations, rather than by a regard to the public interest.

The last twenty-four years of his life were chiefly passed at Daylesford. He amused himself with embellishing his grounds, riding fine Arab horses, fattening prize cattle, and trying to rear Indian animals and vegetables in England. He sent for seeds of a very fine custard apple, from the garden of what had once been his own villa, among the green hedgerows of Allipore. He tried also to naturalize in Worcestershire the delicious leechee, almost the only fruit of Bengal which deserves to be regretted even amidst the plenty of Covent Garden. The Mogul emperors, in the time of their greatness, had in vain attempted to introduce into Hindostan the goat of the table-land of Tibet, whose down supplies the looms of Cashmere with the materials of the finest shawls. Hastings tried, with no better fortune, to rear a breed at Daylesford; nor does he seem to have succeeded better with the cattle of Bootan, whose tails are in high esteem as the best fans for brushing away the mosquitoes.

Literature divided his attention with his conservatories and his menagerie. He had always loved books, and they were now necessary to him. Though not a poet, in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility and was fond of exercising this talent. Indeed, if we must speak out, he seems to have been more of a Trissotin than was to be expected from the powers of his mind, and from the great part which he had played in life. We are assured in these Memoirs that the first thing which he did in the morning was to compose a copy of verses. When the family and guests assembled, the poem made its appearance as regularly as the eggs and rolls; and Mr. Gleig requires us to believe that, if from any accident Hastings came to the breakfast table without one of his charming performances in his hand, the omission was felt by all as a grievous disappointment. Tastes differ widely. For ourselves we must say that, however good the breakfasts at Daylesford may have been, — and we are assured that the tea was of the most aromatic flavor, and that neither tongue nor venison pasty was wanting, — we should have thought the reckoning high if we had been forced to earn our repast by listening every day to a new madrigal or sonnet composed by our host. We are glad, however, that Mr. Gleig has preserved this little feature of character, though we think it by no means a beauty. It is good to be often reminded of the inconsistency of human nature, and to learn to look without wonder or disgust on the weaknesses which are found in the strongest minds. Dionysius in old times, Frederic in the last century, with capacity and vigor equal to the conduct of the greatest affairs, united all the little vanities and affectations of provincial bluestockings. These great examples may console the admirers of Hastings for the affliction of seeing him reduced to the level of the Hayleys and Sewards.

When Hastings had passed many years in retirement, and had long outlived the common age of men, he again became for a short time an object of general attention. In 1813 the charter

of the East India Company was renewed; and much discussion about Indian affairs took place in Parliament. It was determined to examine witnesses at the bar of the Commons; and Hastings was ordered to attend. He had appeared at that bar once before. It was when he read his answer to the charges which Burke had laid on the table. Since that time twenty-seven years had elapsed; public feeling had undergone a complete change; the nation had now forgotten his faults and remembered only his services. The reappearance, too, of a man who had been among the most distinguished of a generation that had passed away, who now belonged to history, and who seemed to have risen from the dead, could not but produce a solemn and pathetic effect. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and when he retired, rose and uncovered. There were, indeed, a few who did not sympathize with the general feeling. One or two of the managers of the impeachment were present. They sat in the same seats which they had occupied when they had been thanked for the services which they had rendered in Westminster Hall; for, by the courtesy of the House, a member who has been thanked in his place is considered as having a right always to occupy that place. These gentlemen were not disposed to admit that they had employed several of the best years of their lives in persecuting an innocent man. They accordingly kept their seats and pulled their hats over their brows; but the exceptions only made the prevailing enthusiasm more remarkable. The Lords received the old man with similar tokens of respect. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws; and, in the Sheldonian Theater, the undergraduates welcomed him with tumultuous cheering.

These marks of public esteem were soon followed by marks of royal favor. Hastings was sworn of the Privy Council and was admitted to a long private audience of the Prince Regent, who treated him very graciously. When the Emperor of Russia

and the King of Prussia visited England, Hastings appeared in their train both at Oxford and in the Guildhall of London, and, though surrounded by a crowd of princes and great warriors, was everywhere received by the public with marks of respect and admiration. He was presented by the Prince Regent both to Alexander and to Frederic William; and his Royal Highness went so far as to declare in public that honors far higher than a seat in the Privy Council were due, and would soon be paid, to the man who had saved the British dominions in Asia. Hastings now confidently expected a peerage; but, from some unexplained cause, he was again disappointed.

He lived about four years longer, in the enjoyment of good spirits, of faculties not impaired to any painful or degrading extent, and of health such as is rarely enjoyed by those who attain such an age. At length, on the twenty-second of August, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, he met death with the same tranquil and decorous fortitude which he had opposed to all the trials of his various and eventful life.

With all his faults, — and they were neither few nor small, — only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried, in the Great Abbey which has during many ages afforded a quiet resting place to those whose minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the Great Hall, the dust of the illustrious accused should have mingled with the dust of the illustrious accusers. This was not to be. Yet the place of interment was not ill chosen. Behind the chancel of the parish church of Daylesford, in earth which already held the bones of many chiefs of the house of Hastings, was laid the coffin of the greatest man who has ever borne that ancient and widely extended name. On that very spot probably, fourscore years before, the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of plowmen. Even then his young mind had revolved plans which

might be called romantic. Yet, however romantic, it is not likely that they had been so strange as the truth. Not only had the poor orphan retrieved the fallen fortunes of his line. Not only had he repurchased the old lands and rebuilt the old dwelling. He had preserved and extended an empire. He had founded a polity. He had administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu. He had patronized learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo. He had been attacked by the most formidable combination of enemies that ever sought the destruction of a single victim; and over that combination, after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fullness of age: in peace, after so many troubles; in honor, after so much obloquy.

Those who look on his character without favor or malevolence will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue, in respect for the rights of others and in sympathy for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But while we cannot with truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honorable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the state, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune and never disturbed by either.

NOTES ON LORD CLIVE

(The figures in heavy-faced type refer to pages, the figures in lighter type to lines.)

1 5 Every schoolboy knows: not all of the historical allusions are familiar to schoolboys. It is even doubtful whether many schoolboys would know where to look up some of the allusions. Macaulay, as is often his method, himself explains who imprisoned **Montezuma,** namely, Cortes. Another Spanish explorer and conqueror, Pizarro, caused **Atahualpa,** king in Peru, to be strangled. The Spanish cities of Saragossa, Toledo, Seville, Barcelona, and Cadiz ought to need no further explanation for students who remember their geography. **Ferdinand the Catholic,** with his queen, Isabella, brought all of Spain into one kingdom, which the king and queen ruled with great splendor. Queen Isabella provided Columbus with money to sail westward. The **Great Captain** was Hernandez de Cordova, who materially aided King Ferdinand in the wars against the Moors and helped the king of Naples in his war with the king of France.

1 7 highly cultivated minds: Macaulay is no doubt correct in thinking that not one university man in ten could tell that Major Munro in 1764 won the **battle of Buxar** against Sujah Dowlah and his allies, Shah Alum and Mir Cossim (Nabob of Bengal); that Mir Cossim in 1763 perpetrated the **massacre of Patna,** in which the head of the Patna trading post, over a hundred and fifty other Englishmen, and two thousand sepoys were cut to pieces, a massacre which later in the essay is said to have surpassed in atrocity that of the Black Hole; that **Sujah Dowlah** ruled in Oude, in the northern part of India, and not in Travancore, in the extreme south; that **Holkar,** one of the chiefs of the powerful race called Mahrattas, was a Hindoo and not a Mussulman.

2 2 handful of his countrymen: this is no exaggeration. The sentence serves as topic for the whole essay. Clive, as leader of the handful of Englishmen, subjugated in the course of a few years one of the greatest empires in the world. Macaulay does not limit himself to the exploits of Clive; the essay covers the whole period of Indian history in the events of which Clive was chiefly concerned.

2 7 **the historians:** James Mill, author of "History of British India," and Robert Orme, author of "History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745."

2 17 **volumes before us:** Macaulay's method of reviewing a book was one commonly employed in the first half of the nineteenth century when a distinguished group of essayists filled the pages of Knight's *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh Review*. The book that he was ostensibly reviewing Macaulay would use as the basis for a long article on the general subject which was touched by the book being reviewed. After two or three paragraphs on the book he would approach the large subject involved and would make later only casual references to the book that served as his text. In "Lord Clive" he nominally reviews Sir John Malcolm's three-volume "Life of Robert, Lord Clive," a book the chief merit of which is that it is enriched by extracts from Clive's correspondence. The materials for the book were placed at the disposal of Malcolm by Clive's eldest son, Edward, who in 1804 was made Earl of Powis in recognition of his services as governor of Madras from 1798 to 1803; Macaulay speaks of Edward Clive as **the late Lord Powis,** because he died only the year before the essay was published. The essay was first published in the *Edinburgh Review* in January, 1840, though the author began work on it nearly a year before.

2 32 **passes the love of biographers:** an adaptation of Scriptural phraseology — "Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (2 Samuel i. 26). Like the contemporary essayist Ruskin, Macaulay quotes or adapts many Scriptural phrases. Other passages in "Lord Clive" taken from the Bible or suggested by the Bible are as follows: "with the rapidity of the prophet's gourd," **5** 9, from Jonah iv. 6–10; "Gog or Magog of prophecy," **11** 15, from Revelations xx. 8; "given up the ghost," **21** 24, from Acts v. 5; "'yea, yea,' and 'nay, nay,'" **48** 23, from Matthew v. 37 and James v. 12; "wages of corruption," **50** 22, from Romans vi. 23; "little finger . . . thicker than the loins," **63** 32, from 1 Kings xii. 10; "had chosen the good part," **68** 1, from Luke x. 42; "which rejoiceth exceedingly," **87** 32, from Job iii. 22.

3 11 **Market-Drayton, in Shropshire:** guide books now find nothing else to say about this small town except that Clive was born here, and as a boy climbed the lofty steeple of St. Stephen's Church. Market-Drayton is about forty miles southwest of Manchester.

3 29 **one of his uncles:** Bayley, husband of Clive's mother's sister. Living with the Bayleys, Clive spent part of his youth near the city of Manchester.

4 6 **school to school:** the schools were at Lostocke in Cheshire and at

Market-Drayton; in the city of London, — the Merchant Taylors' School; and at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire. The master who prophesied that the idle lad would make a great figure in the world was Dr. Eaton of Lostocke, whose words were, " If that lad should live to be a man, and an opportunity be given for the exertion of his talents, few names would be greater than his."

4 15 **writership**: 'clerkship.' — **East India Company**: for the method of conducting the Company see the note on " Directors," **27** 14.

4 16 **shipped him off**: by reference to **98** 33 and **99** 6 it will be seen that both Clive and Hastings started as junior clerks in the Indian civil service.

4 17 **Madras**: the geography of India as touched upon in these essays will prove puzzling without frequent reference to the maps. It will be well to fix in mind the location of Madras and the Carnatic province on the southeastern or Coromandel coast, Calcutta and the Bengal province in the northeast, and Bombay on the western or Malabar coast. With these fixed points and districts to go by, it will not be so difficult to understand the location of the smaller trading posts, native cities, and provinces that are being constantly mentioned. Besides the two maps in this book, the maps numbered 104 and 105 in the atlas of the Century Dictionary, if available, will be found useful, for they contain practically all places referred to in the essays. Moreover, the Century atlas is provided with a complete and convenient index. A book of even more value, though not so likely to be found in every school or city library, is Edward Thornton's " A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company and of the Native States on the Continent of India." This gazetteer was published in London in 1857 by W. H. Allen & Co.

4 19 **East India College**: young men who had been named to be clerks in the service spent two preparatory years at the college founded by the East India Company in 1806 at Haileybury, Hertfordshire. The studies included law and Oriental languages. In 1858, after the establishment of a competitive system for the appointment of clerks had taken away from the East India directors their privilege of naming clerks without examination, the old college was closed. The present Haileybury College was founded in 1862 (Haydn's " Dictionary of Dates "). — **now**: one of the author's favorite words in the essays, for he continually compares conditions of the times of Clive and Hastings with conditions which he knew in 1838 when he himself lived in India.

4 20 **Presidencies**: chief administrative divisions, of which there were three, namely, Bengal, Bombay, and Madras.

5 13 cool breeze: the vivid detail brightens up the paragraph and helps to make Macaulay's writing "sufficiently animated and picturesque to attract those who read for amusement" (**2** 9). Those who read merely for instruction might try the article on India in the Encyclopedia Britannica. There they will find, for example, that the average annual mean temperature in the Madras region is over 80 degrees.

5 17 But: have you already noticed Macaulay's abundant use of this connective? What characteristic of his style is indicated by the free use of "but"?

5 27 Anglo-Indian of the present day: starting work on the essay as soon as he returned to London from India in 1839, Macaulay realized keenly the feelings of Anglo-Indians, that is, Englishmen who had returned from service in India.

5 31 independent power: it was not until the completion of the work of Clive and Hastings that the English governors could claim much independent power. See numerous references in later paragraphs.

5 32 Nabob . . . Nizam . . . Great Mogul: in the two essays there are repeated references to the various titles of rulers in India. "Nabob" is a Hindoo term for viceroy or governor, especially under the old Mogul empire. "Dowlah" is the Mohammedan title equivalent to governor. "Nizam," "Great Mogul," "Shah," "Padishah," "Rajah," "Maharajah," "Khan," and "Peshwa" are all terms meaning chief ruler or king. More specifically, Nizam means a native ruler of Hyderabad; Great Mogul means emperor of Delhi, where Tamerlane established his capital; Shah and Padishah (Persian in origin) signify king or ruler, but are now in India often merely common additions to surnames; Rajah is an Anglo-Indian word meaning a Hindoo chief or prince in a tribal state, but is often used as a mere title of distinction; Maharajah is a title of some native Hindoo rulers; Khan means, in some Asiatic countries, a sovereign ruler, but is in India usually nothing but a title like the English "esquire," applicable to almost any person of repute; Peshwa meant formerly a chief of the Mahrattas. "Vizier" is a title applied to a high official in a Mohammedan country, especially a minister of state (see the Standard Dictionary).

In order to understand Macaulay's use of some of these terms, one must know something of the early history of India. The nominal ruler when Clive arrived at Madras was the emperor, known by the title of Great Mogul. This Mogul had come gradually into his place of power and had gradually lost it. Two races, each professing the Mohammedan religion, in turn swept over the native Hindoos. The first of these races were the Afghans; the next, the Mongols or Moguls. In the eleventh

century a king from Afghanistan occupied part of northern India. In the thirteenth century the Afghans took the Deccan, the great south central province, and soon ruled all India. In the fourteenth century Mongolian or Mogul chiefs, defeating the Afghan rulers, passed from central Asia beyond the Indus River. Tamerlane, a powerful Mogul chief, captured Delhi and made the name of the Moguls feared even in the far south. The next century, with the departure of the Mogul tribes to their native Central Asia, the whole land of India was in a state of local independence or of troubled Afghan rule. Then in the sixteenth century Baber, the Tiger, a descendant of Tamerlane, conquered the Afghan rulers and brought nearly all the Hindoos into the Mogul empire (see **9** 29). Other Mogul emperors, Akbar the Great, Jehangir, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe, continued the Mogul rule on a scale of unsurpassed magnificence at the capital, Agra, which was adorned with the wonderful Taj Mahal and other magnificent buildings (see **9** 33). Aurungzebe, "the king of the world," tyrannized over the native Hindoos and favored the foreign Mohammedans to such an extent that there was bound to be a recoil. About the beginning of the eighteenth century the Mogul power began actually to decline, though nominally the Great Mogul, as Macaulay says, continued in such authority that the Nizam or Viceroy of the Deccan was only his deputy.

6 3 **There is still:** note the three successive sentences beginning in the same way. This rhetorical effect, called repeated structure, is a help to clearness and force of expression.

6 7 **resident:** as used before the organization of the civil service, the word meant a person residing in a place as the chief of one of the commercial establishments of the East India Company. Later, the word meant a representative of the viceroy at an important native court, as at Lucknow or Delhi. Compare "residencies," **61** 2.

6 17 **His pay was small:** what is the effect of the short sentences used here?

6 22 **Fort St. George:** the official name for Madras.

7 10 **As a boy:** one of the best of the numerous Macaulay balances.

7 12 **But neither climate nor:** the first half of this sentence serves as a transition to a new line of thought which is developed in the paragraph. There are numerous examples of this linking together of the parts of the essay.

7 19 **Wallenstein:** this is the sort of historical allusion that makes the reading of the essay difficult for one who lacks a background of historical information. Really the comparison only confuses the average reader, for the allusion adds nothing to the idea, which was already plain

without the comparison. Wallenstein (1583–1634) was a general in the Thirty Years' War between Roman Catholic and Protestant forces in Germany. Schiller has put the story of Wallenstein into a great tragedy.

7 23 an event: the humiliation of the English governor of Madras (see the next paragraph). Macaulay, following a favorite method of his in the essays, stops the direct course of the narrative of Clive's life, and introduces explanatory historical matter intended to make the particular narrative plainer when it is resumed. What other illustrations of this method appear in the two essays?

8 17 conquests made by the French arms: the French influence in India began at Surat (north of Bombay) in 1666, with the establishment of the first French trading post. After suffering a number of setbacks from the Dutch colonizers, the French, in 1741, when Dupleix became governor of Pondicherry, began to go forward in power. The "gigantic schemes" of conquest which Dupleix attempted to carry out are told in the following paragraphs of the essay.

8 29 Clive fled: observe that the narrative of Clive's actions in India is here resumed.

9 5 a desperate duel: over Clive's charge that the bully had cheated at cards. What duel did Hastings engage in?

9 20 Major Lawrence: in his old age Major Stringer Lawrence received an annual pension of £500 from Clive in recognition of his early kindness to the young soldier.

9 29 Baber and his Moguls: see note **5** 32. The substance of the explanatory history given on pages 9–18 is that, in the confusion resulting from the struggle between the Mohammedans and the Hindoos, an ambitious Frenchman, Dupleix, allying himself with claimants to great provinces on the east coast and in central India, became practical master of thirty million people, and had apparently little to fear from English rivalry. These pages might be cut out in an abridgment of the essay. What is the author's purpose in inserting them?

9 34 travelers who had seen St. Peter's: Sir Thomas Roe and François Bernier, named on page 12, line 5, wrote accounts of the astonishing things they saw in India,—things which were astonishing even to men who had seen St. Peter's. For Roe's advice on the Indian problem see page 68, line 30. Another traveler, Tavernier, saw the Kohinoor diamond at the court of Aurungzebe. The reason why Macaulay mentioned St. Peter's was no doubt his own memory of that great building. In his journal, November 18, 1838, he writes concerning his first visit to St. Peter's at Rome: "I was for a minute fairly stunned by the magnificence and harmony of the interior. I never in my life saw, and never,

I suppose, shall see again, anything so astonishingly beautiful. I really could have cried with pleasure. I rambled about for half an hour or more, paying little or no attention to details, but enjoying the effect of the sublime whole."

10 3 **Versailles**: the group of palaces at Versailles, near Paris, seems of dazzling brilliancy even now when the palaces are merely show places and the furnishings are arranged stiffly for exhibition. Macaulay's point is that the magnitude of St. Peter's and the luxury of Versailles were as nothing compared with the pomp of the Mogul emperors.

10 33 **no small analogy**: like so many of Macaulay's historical analogies or parallels or comparisons, this one, by which the successors of Aurungzebe are compared with the successors of Theodosius, though meant to elucidate, really confuses, for the reader probably knows no more about Theodosius than about Aurungzebe. Theodosius, a powerful emperor of Rome, was succeeded by his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, who were weaklings; and they in turn were succeeded by other weaklings, so that the mighty Holy Roman Empire was easily broken up by the Germanic tribes and the Huns that attacked the frontiers and finally reached Rome itself.

11 34 **chewing bhang**: Macaulay's way of expressing contempt for uselessness. Bhang is a stimulating drug extracted from hemp.

12 3 **A Persian conqueror**: Nadir Shah carried off the treasures of Delhi in 1739. The **Peacock Throne** is variously estimated to have been worth from thirty to sixty million dollars. The peacock's tail was made of blue sapphires and diamonds from the mines of **Golconda**, near Hyderabad. The body was of gold inlaid with gems, among them a splendid ruby. In front of the breast was suspended a pear-shaped, fifty-carat pearl. The **Mountain of Light** may well be called "inestimable." It is the famous Kohinoor diamond, now kept in Windsor Castle, though a model of it is on exhibition with the other crown jewels in the Tower, London. This diamond came into the hands of the English in 1849 on their conquest of the Punjab, and was presented to Queen Victoria by the East India Company in 1850.

12 10 **The Afghan**: Ahmed Shah invaded India in 1748.

12 12 **Rajpootana**: in northwest India. The Hindoos who dwelt in Rajpootana were, like the Rohillas, the Seiks, the Jauts, and the Mahrattas, — all in northwestern India, — stronger and more courageous than the Bengalese of northeastern India.

12 13 **Rohilcund**: the inhabitants of Rohilcund, that is the Rohillas, were roving mountaineer warriors. Compare **118** 24–**119** 20.

12 14 **Seiks**: starting in the fifteenth century as reformers of Hindooism, the Seiks or Sikhs made headway in the Punjab, until they

conquered the whole of it. The Punjab was annexed by the English in 1849, after a series of battles with the Sikhs had been won by the English. The Sikh soldier customarily prayed to his sword. See the Century Dictionary of Names. — **Jauts**: these warlike people, living in the north of India, with their capital near Agra, were conquered by the English in 1826.

12 23 **Mahrattas**: a Hindoo race settled in northwestern India.

12 33 **milder . . . tiger**: characteristically lively and specific diction.

13 5 **innumerable cavalry**: what other examples do you find of unqualifiedly strong statements.

13 9 **Mahratta ditch**: an earthwork dug in 1742 about Calcutta to keep out the Mahrattas of the district of Berar. What is the function of the semicolon in this sentence?

13 10 **Wherever the viceroys**: contrast the abrupt opening of this paragraph with the smooth connection between most of the paragraphs.

13 31 **fifteen thousand miles**: by the route then followed, before the building of the Suez Canal.

14 12 **only**: criticize the word order.

14 19 **Saxe or Frederic**: again historical allusions are made for the purpose of comparison. Maurice, Comte de Saxe, best known as Marshal Saxe, 1696–1750, won many victories for France in the War of the Austrian Succession, notably that of Fontenoy over the English and their allies in 1745. Frederic the Great was king of Prussia from 1740 to 1786.

14 31 **confounded the confusion**: a phrase taken from line 996 of the second book of Milton's "Paradise Lost." It is said that Macaulay could repeat from memory the whole of this poem.

15 8 **heir of Baber**: explained by the word Mogul in the next sentence.

16 1 **success . . . war**: besides capturing Madras, the French successfully defended Pondicherry from an attack by the English.

16 13 **eloquence of Burke**: for appreciative characterizations of Burke, turn to pages 190 and 204.

16 24 ***Te Deum***: a Latin hymn of thanks and rejoicing which begins *Te Deum laudamus*, that is, "Thee, God, we praise." What is the syntax of *Te Deum* as used by Macaulay?

16 28 **palanquin**: what does Macaulay gain for his narrative by the introduction of this and similar strange words?

16 30 **Cape Comorin**: southernmost point of India.

17 18 **vainglorious Frenchman**: what other adjectives are applied to Dupleix? Macaulay's national prejudices are wont to appear sharply in his writings.

18 1 **seemed impossible**: by magnifying in advance the difficulties of a situation and then showing how Clive or Hastings overcame them with limited resources, the author extravagantly praises the two men.

18 3 **had returned**: have you observed Macaulay's fondness for the pluperfect? Running rapidly over events that had happened, he had a way of preparing by his pluperfect summary for a narrative of events to be told in detail in regular order.

18 13 **obscure English youth**: observe the author's art in withholding the name till the opening of the next paragraph.

18 15 **twenty-five years old**: note the method of dating the event. Would you understand the essay better if the year of each important event were given by the author?

18 24 **Arcot**: the fort, which was large but not strong, was established in 1716.

19 4 **thunder, lightning, and rain**: Macaulay's retentive memory often called to his mind, while he was writing, phrases from the Bible or Milton or Shakespeare or other English classics. The phraseology here is taken from "Macbeth," I, i. Where do you find in the book another quotation from this play?

20 15 **Tenth Legion of Cæsar**: by alluding to Cæsar's most trusted legion and to Napoleon's most seasoned soldiers, does the essayist help you to understand better the nature of the devotion of Clive's soldiers to him?

20 20 **no more touching**: see the same phrase two paragraphs later. Does the repetition make you conjecture that both the assertions are exaggerated?

21 2 **large bribes**: what was Clive's later record with regard to bribes?

21 10 **Mohammedan festival**: mention other spellings of the word Mohammedan. The festival was in honor of Hosein, who was a son of Mohammed's first disciple, Ali, and his wife, Fatima. Hosein, called later in the paragraph the chief of the **Fatimites**, was assassinated by order of a rival, Yazid, the Khalif, whom the author calls the **tyrant**. **Islam**, which literally means obedience to God, is another term for Mohammedanism. Still another term is "Mussulmanism." What is the author's purpose in telling the effect of the festival on Mohammedans? Compare the account of the siege of Arcot in some other history with the lively, graphic narrative of Macaulay.

21 27 **garden of the Houris**: Mohammedan paradise.

22 13 **of fanaticism and of intoxication**: for the meaning, see the last sentence of the preceding paragraph. Why does the author repeat "of"?

23 24 **just and profound policy**: does Macaulay usually induce you to accept his opinion? Does he here?

23 27 **a spell. This spell**: the method of closely connecting sentences by repeating at the beginning of one sentence the last word or phrase of the preceding sentence has been aptly called "echo" by Professor J. M. Hart ("A Handbook of English Composition," p. 14). How many examples of "echo" do you find in the two essays?

24 8 **bare justice**: frequently Macaulay speaks of doing justice to some one; he often uses such expressions as "justice," "justified," "unjust," "impartial," "judge," and "injustice." With all these references to the impartiality of his attitude, does he convince you of his lack of bias?

25 2 **Captain Bobadil**: what is the use of such literary allusions as this? Bobadil is a boaster in Ben Jonson's comedy, "Every Man in His Humour."

25 18 **probably**: is this a good word to use in the writing of history?

25 29 **decline**: what word would contrast better with "increase"?

26 6 **worst and lowest wretches**: called in the next sentence an "undisciplined rabble" and in the sentence after that called sarcastically "extraordinary soldiers." Does the author's constant attempt to depreciate the means that Clive employed and to exaggerate the insignificant opposition with which he had to contend grow a little tiresome to you?

26 8 **flash houses**: that is, houses frequented by criminals and dissolute idlers, both men and women.

26 30 **married**: why does not the author give more space to an account of Clive's family life?

27 14 **Directors**: the method of management of the East India Company was changed several times. In the time of Clive, a person who owned £500 of stock was a Proprietor. The Proprietors made the regulations for the Company, and annually elected twenty-four Directors. The Directors administered the affairs of the Company. In 1773, the year before Clive died, Parliament passed a regulating act which curtailed the powers of the Directors. In 1784 the India Bill established a Parliamentary Board of Control to approve or annul acts of the Directors.

28 6 **evacuation**: 'squandering.'

28 8 **the Government**: what have the next two pages to do with the main theme of the essay?

28 27 **First Lord of the Treasury**: in the English cabinet the prime minister held official position as first lord of the treasury. Compare **29** 20, where "the Treasury" means the prime minister.

28 29 **breaking . . . promoting**: what words of the preceding part of the sentence do these two words explain? What is the use of the semicolon in this sentence?

28 33 **Reform Act in 1832:** this act abolished such "wretched" boroughs as that referred to by Macaulay. Many boroughs of insignificant population and importance had come to be known as "rotten boroughs." They were represented in Parliament when great manufacturing cities like Manchester were unrepresented. The Reform Act distributed representation more fairly. See note on "Old Sarum," **126** 24.

29 7 **committee of the whole House:** to expedite business, legislative bodies often find it convenient to consider the whole body for the time as a committee. Often in committees of the whole House the attendance is small, since the actions of the committee must be approved by the House in regular session. In the case referred to there were numerous committee votes in favor of the "returning" or electing of Clive. A vote was taken thus: those favoring one side passed into one room and those favoring the other passed into another room; this was called a "division." Later, in the case of Clive, the House of Commons in regular session rejected the action of itself when it had met as a committee.

30 13 **the East:** like "Asia" of the preceding sentence, this is used to avoid repetition of the word "India."

30 26 **Of the provinces:** abrupt sequence. Pages 30–36 are devoted to the Black Hole incident, which has nothing directly to do with Clive, but is one of Macaulay's most vivid bits of writing.

30 28 **for agriculture and for commerce:** note how the details in five following sentences develop the idea of the advantages of Bengal in agriculture, and then the details of the next two sentences develop the idea of the advantages for commerce. It is a pleasure to follow the systematic workings of Macaulay's mind as he unfolds a general statement. What is the theme of the whole paragraph of which these key words are a part?

31 26 **a hundred genuine Bengalese:** note how the specific detail clinches Macaulay's general assertion as to the enervated Bengalese. A similar idea is found on page 110, line 19, "All those millions do not furnish one sepoy to the armies of the Company."

32 8 **the Course:** a driveway in the suburbs of Calcutta.

32 16 **Aliverdy Khan:** a usurper, Nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar from 1740 to 1756. He was succeeded as Nabob by his grandson, Surajah Dowlah, eighteen years old (Hunter's "India," Dutcher's edition, in the History of the Nations Series, published by Morris of Philadelphia, p. 182).

33 24 **frightened out of his wits:** familiar, colloquial diction. What other instances do you find of colloquial language in the essays?

34 10 **summer solstice:** June 20, 1756.

34 22 **Nothing in history or fiction**: compare "a massacre surpassing in atrocity that of the Black Hole," **63** 12, and comment on Macaulay's consistency. — **Ugolino**: an Italian nobleman represented by Dante in his "Inferno" as frozen in a lake of ice and devouring the head of an enemy who had starved him to death in prison. He is referred to also in the essay on Milton.

35 4 **The day broke**: short, crisp sentences give the effect of vigor and liveliness to a narrative.

36 4 **In August**: year 1756.

36 13 **more subjects**: another instance of Macaulay's trying to emphasize the difficulties to be overcome by Clive. The population of Bengal at that time was estimated at about thirty millions, though no approximately accurate census was taken in India till much later than this period.

36 15 **did not reach Bengal till December**: the distance from Madras to Calcutta is about one thousand miles.

37 8 **accommodation**: 'agreement.'

37 13 **war had commenced in Europe**: the Seven Years' War between Frederick II of Prussia and the allies, Austria, Russia, and France, lasted from 1756 to 1763.

37 23 **statesman**: in making a topical outline of the essay, would you make as two of the main headings Clive's acts as a soldier (pages 7–37), and Clive's acts as a statesman (pages 37–74)? What material do you find in these pages not directly relevant to the work of Clive as a soldier and a statesman?

37 28 **a stain**: observe the key words in later paragraphs which bring out the nature of the stain on Clive's moral character: "intriguer," "hypocritical caresses," "substitution of documents," "counterfeiting of hands," "dissimulation," "artifice," "expedient," "forged," "breach of faith," "wages of corruption," and "rapacity."

39 31 **The Nabob**: is anything gained by the same opening for two successive paragraphs?

40 16 **Mohammedans . . . Hindoos**: the two chief religions of India. They are still in conflict, for the recent reforms of Lord Morley, as governor-general, are said by one of the leading Hindoos to have divided India into two huge compartments, Hindoo and Mohammedan. The reform of Lord Morley is objected to by the Indian Association of Calcutta because "the Hindu population strongly objects to class representation being granted the Mohammedan community beyond their numerical strength."

42 30 **mighty power**: what is Macaulay's purpose in using this phrase with regard to the opposition to Clive? See in the next paragraph, "an

army twenty times as numerous as his own," and several paragraphs later, " only three thousand men." The numbers of the opposing armies as given by Macaulay are substantially the same as the figures in Malleson's life of Clive. Malleson puts the numbers as somewhat less for Clive and more for the Nabob.

43 13 **masters of Bengal**: the essayist does not in this sentence overestimate the importance of the battle of Plassey in the history of British operations in India, nor does he three paragraphs later in the phrase, " the day which was to decide the fate of India." He does not give details of the important battle of Buxar, referred to in the first paragraph, because Clive was not the commander at Buxar. It is Clive with whom this essay is mainly concerned, though the author glances at the currents of the whole Indian history of the time.

43 19 **The river was passed**: study the paragraph sequence. Macaulay leads up to the passing of the river almost as if he had in mind Cæsar's famous moment of decision which led him to cross the Rubicon.

44 11 **the bolder race**: the forces of the Nabob were largely of the warlike race of Rajpoots.

44 21 ***Primus in Indis***: 'First in India.'

46 21 **a lad in Brazil**: Malcolm says that Clive had an easy command of the Portuguese language.

46 30 **servants**: employees in the civil service.

46 32 **Omichund**: deceived by the two treaties, one false and the other genuine, he lost his reason for a time, but only for a time. Soon he was at his old business again (Malleson's life of Clive).

47 17 **judgment of our readers**: study Macaulay's method of argument. Do his powers in this kind of writing appear equal to his skill in narrative and descriptive composition?

47 30 **Machiavelli**: this Italian statesman of Florence (1469–1527) represents to the popular mind the acme of expedient subtlety in political manipulation; he believed that the end justifies the means. He remained for some months with **Cæsar Borgia** in conference regarding Borgia's intentions toward the Florentine republic. Machiavelli's " Il Principe," that is, " The Prince," written at a time when Italian politics were unprincipled, is severely condemned by Macaulay in his essay on Machiavelli. One of Macaulay's most striking criticisms is this: " Principles which the most hardened ruffian would scarcely hint to his most trusted accomplice, or avow, without the disguise of palliating sophism, even to his own mind, are professed without the slightest circumlocution, and assumed as the fundamental axioms of all political science."

48 2 **that, for this reason**: the sentence is puzzling at first reading because the antecedent of "that" is not obvious. Macaulay means that the rule is subject to still fewer exceptions for the reason that the life of societies is longer than the life of individuals.

49 33 **shower of wealth**: Malcolm gives the details of the treaty as reported by Clive to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors in 1758. One of the provisions was that one hundred lacs of rupees, equivalent to £1,000,000, were to be paid to the Company in consideration of the loss at Calcutta and the expenses of the campaign. Another provision was that seventy-seven lacs were to be paid to the Council and Clive for distribution among the sufferers at Calcutta — English, Armenians, Moors, etc. Notice how picturesquely Macaulay tells of this shower of wealth that fell upon the Company and Clive.

50 13 **Venetians purchased**: before Vasco da Gama passed around the Cape of Good Hope to the East in 1498, the Venetians had practical control of the trade with the East, the only route being by way of Venice, Constantinople, Bagdad, and the Persian Gulf. **Florins** were coins of Florence, and **byzants** were coins of Byzantium or Constantinople.

50 16 **between two and three hundred thousand pounds**: really a little less than £200,000. Clive himself said, "When I recollect entering the treasury of Moorshedabad, with the heaps of gold and silver to the right hand and to the left, and these crowned with jewels, I stand astonished at my own moderation." See also **83** 27. Note how Macaulay transforms these general words of Clive into the specific terms "rubies" and "diamonds."

50 20 **vehemently defended**: Macaulay is hardly fair to Malcolm, who merely asserts what Mill also asserts, — that there was no law to forbid Clive's conduct, which was parallel to the Duke of **Marlborough's** accepting the principality of Mindelheim from Emperor Joseph I in 1705; to **Nelson's** accepting in 1798 the estate of Bronte in Sicily from Ferdinand IV, king of Naples; and to **Wellington's** accepting the dukedom of Vittoria from Ferdinand VII, king of Spain, in 1813, all by the consent of the English queen or king of the time.

52 28 **viceroy of . . . Oude**: that is, Sujah Dowlah, whose province of Oude became practically independent of Mogul authority in 1753, and whose armies were able after that to hold in check the powerful Mahratta freebooters who threatened to overrun all of northwestern India.

52 34 **India House**: the London office of the East India Company was at the corner of Leadenhall Street and Lime Street, in the eastern part of London. Charles Lamb was a clerk there for over thirty years, and James Mill, author of a history of India, was another of the clerks who became famous.

53 32 **tract . . . north of the Carnatic:** ceded in 1753 to the French by the Nizam of Hyderabad.

55 30 **his tenant:** that is, the Company had agreed to pay the thirty thousand pounds annually to Nabob Meer Jaffier, but now the Nabob turned the money over to Clive, so that the Company became in a sense the tenant of Clive.

56 11 **Batavia:** a Dutch settlement, capital of the island of Java, and one of the chief Dutch colonies.

57 18 **sailed for England:** February 5, 1760.

57 23 **Irish peerage:** he was made Baron of Plassey, but, being in the Irish peerage, he had no seat in the House of Lords. As a baron he is usually referred to as *Lord* Clive.

57 26 **Pitt:** William Pitt, the elder, better known as the Earl of Chatham. Macaulay wrote two *Edinburgh Review* essays about the Earl of Chatham, one published in 1834, the other in 1844.

57 33 **King of Prussia:** compare **14** 19. Frederick the Great is said to have told a commander in chief that a certain young nobleman would better go to Clive if desirous of learning the art of war. Frederick is referred to at the end of the paragraph as one of the "great tacticians of Germany." — **no reporters:** reports of the House of Commons, where Pitt was a "great orator," were not made verbatim, but were written outside from memory by listeners like Dr. Samuel Johnson. It was not until 1834 that a box was built in which reporters were allowed to sit and take down the exact proceedings of the House.

58 4 **the only English general:** what is Macaulay's purpose in belittling the work of other English generals, except Wolfe? **Wolfe** captured Quebec in 1759. The **Duke of Cumberland's** single victory gained over his countrymen was won in the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion in Scotland in 1746; he was so cruel that he was dubbed "the butcher." **Conway** was a general of no particular achievements in the Seven Years' War. **Granby,** also in the Seven Years' War, helped in the battle of Minden. **Sackville** was commander of the cavalry at Minden; disobeying an order to charge the French, he was accused of cowardice, "the imputation most fatal to the character of a soldier." The chief command at Minden in 1759 and at Warburg the next year, when the French were defeated by the allied English and Prussians, was held by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the **foreign general.** It is characteristic of Macaulay's style to substantiate a general statement by such specific instances as those named in this paragraph.

59 25 **worthless demogogue Wilkes:** Green gives in his "Short History of the English People" a graphic account of Wilkes's attempts to

be seated as a member from Middlesex. Pitt denounced Wilkes as a "worthless profligate."

60 18 **Grampound election**: the Cornish borough of Grampound was disfranchised in 1820 because of its notorious corruption in elections.

60 24 **ballot**: each proprietor dropped in a box one ball for each block of five hundred pounds of stock owned by him.

61 3 **Sudder courts**: the principal civil and criminal courts.

61 16 **Pigot**: this governor of Madras made £400,000 in India.

61 25 **South Sea year**: that is, 1720, when the shares of the South Sea Company, which had been chartered in 1711 to trade with Spanish South America, jumped in value from one hundred pounds to a thousand pounds.

63 32 **little finger**: this application of Biblical phraseology produces an extraordinarily vivid figure of speech. What have you observed regarding the nature and the number of Macaulay's figures of speech?

65 8 **wholesale executions**: for instance, Major Munro blew twenty-four mutinous Sepoy leaders from the cannon's mouth in 1764 at Patna.

65 17 **Verres**: as prætor of Sicily, Verres so oppressed the Sicilians that they accused him before the Roman Senate, Cicero being the orator who brought the accusation.

66 15 **In May, 1765, he reached Calcutta**: when you make your topical outline of the entire essay, would it be better, instead of dividing into main headings as mentioned in note **37** 23, to make the main groups Clive's first stay in India, his first return to England, his second stay, his second return, his third stay, and his final return?

69 15 **proconsuls, proprætors, procurators**: terms used in the government of the Roman Empire. See dictionary for distinctions in meaning.

69 30 **monopoly of salt**: there is still a tax on salt in India. What is the particular importance of salt in a tropical country?

70 1 **accused by historians**: for instance, Mill and Thornton.

71 7 **cashiered**: dishonorably dismissed from the service.

71 34 **chiefs of foreign mercenaries**: in the decline of the Western Roman Empire invading chiefs like Ricimer and Odoacer held the real power in the empire. **Ricimer** made five different emperors in less than twenty years. **Odoacer** was the barbarian leader who overthrew the Western Roman Empire in 476 A.D. He was himself overcome by the Emperor **Theodoric**, who, out of policy, had for a time allied himself with the emperor of the Eastern Empire at the distant court of Byzantium.

72 20 **Merovingian line**: on page 13, line 14, Macaulay spoke of the "most helpless driveler among the later Carlovingians." Now he speaks of the "last driveling Chilperics and Childerics of the Merovingian

line." These allusions to the Carlovingian and Merovingian emperors can be looked up in detail in any history of medieval Europe. The point is that such kings as Chilperic and Childeric were merely nominal rulers, while others held the real power. There is a similar allusion in the Hastings essay.

72 25 **other European nations**: besides the French, the Dutch, and the Danes, specifically mentioned here by Macaulay, the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Portuguese were also concerned in the history of the trade and the political control by European nations in India. The trade of the Venetians and Genoese was overland, before an all-sea route to India had been discovered. The Portuguese, after the landing of Vasco da Gama in India, monopolized the trade for half a century. Then the Dutch, becoming the greatest maritime power in Europe, took most of the trade. The English began to get a hold in 1602. The Danes had an East India Company which was early established, but went out of existence in 1728. The French power began in 1664 with the establishment of the French East India Company. Of all the European powers the English have been the strongest in India for the longest time.

74 4 **fund which still bears his name**: this was true when written in 1840, but in 1858 the money was distributed among Clive's heirs after the government of India came entirely into the hands of the nation as represented by the king or queen.

74 12 **embittered the remaining years**: pages 74–88 tell of the embitterment of Clive's last years, from 1767 to 1774, in spite of his wealth and some tokens of royal favor. The sentence serves as a general topic for all these paragraphs. Macaulay in most of his essays uses this device of a topic sentence for introducing a long stretch of paragraphs. A topical heading for pages 74–88 might be: Odium of Clive in England in spite of wealth and some royal favor, 1767–1774.

74 28 **Nabobs**: note the two different senses in which this word is used. Pages 75–77 are of a general nature, explaining the feeling in England toward nabobs as used in one sense of the word.

75 10 **farmer-general**: another of Macaulay's historical comparisons. Farmer-generals in France grew rich from paying a lump sum for the taxes of a district and then collecting a great deal more from the inhabitants. Rich as these taxgatherers became, they were scorned by the French nobility. Similar, Macaulay says, was the attitude of the English nobility toward the upstart rich nabobs.

75 30 **the stud**: 'a collection of breeding horses and mares' (Webster).

76 4 **Domesday Book**: this book, now on exhibition in the Record Office Museum on Chancery Lane, London, consists of two parchment

volumes. The book contains, among other statistical features, a record of the owners of English farm and wood lands in 1086. Thus a family recorded in the Domesday Book would be of very ancient descent.

76 11 **foibles against which comedy**: following his usual custom, Macaulay illustrates this by mentioning two characters of celebrated comedies; namely, **Turcaret,** a coarse, rich stock operator, the hero of Le Sage's comedy entitled "Turcaret"; and **Monsieur Jourdain,** a rich tradesman, who, in old age, wants to become a polished gentleman, in Molière's "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme."

76 12 **crimes . . . tragedy**: the references are possibly to the Nero of Racine's tragedy "Britannicus" and to the Richard III of Shakespeare's tragedy "Richard III."

76 20 **dilettante**: 'a lover of the fine arts.'

76 21 **macaroni black-balled**: that is, the men of fashion voted against the admission of the nabobs to membership in the fashionable clubs. For a familiar use of the word "macaroni," recall the song "Yankee Doodle."

76 25 **the whole lighter literature**: as usual, the essayist develops his general statement by adding a catalogue of names. **Foote** and **Mackenzie** were comic dramatists of the latter half of the eighteenth century. **Cowper** was the poet referred to again in the eighth paragraph of "Hastings." The **Sir Matthew Mite** of the next paragraph is a character in Foote's comedy "The Nabob."

77 18 **Berkeley Square**: in a fashionable part of London (see Baedeker's "London").

78 9 **He had to bear the whole odium**: again Macaulay is the advocate, presenting the subject of his biography in the best possible light. See also **81** 28, "He had to bear the double odium of his bad and of his good actions, of every Indian abuse and of every Indian reform."

78 21 **Johnson**: if Samuel Johnson, the great literary dictator of the eighteenth century, had prejudices against nabobs, how do you account for his having been well disposed toward Warren Hastings, as explained in the essay on Hastings?

78 34 **William Huntington, S.S.**: a religious impostor who lived wickedly but pretended that he had seen Christ in the body. S.S. stood for "Sinner Saved."

79 15 **misery and death**: note how these general words are expanded into extraordinarily vivid specific details in the sentences that follow.

80 20 **Adam Smith**: a political economist, author of "The Wealth of Nations," which is declared by Green in Chapter X of "A Short History of the English People" to rank among the greatest of books, if

books are to be measured by the effect which they have produced on the fortunes of mankind.

81 18 **between two tempests**: explained by the next sentence. Observe that Macaulay, from the English point of view, thinks of the American Revolutionary War as a *civil war*.

81 30 **The state of the political world**: the author does not neglect his opportunity offered by this sentence to give an encyclopedic catalogue of names. Look up *Grenville*, *Chatham*, and *Rockingham* in any encyclopedia or English history.

82 24 **under the gallery**: the seats for distinguished visitors are still beneath the galleries.

83 12 **alien from**: would you say alien *to*?

83 29 **rose**: 'adjourned.'

84 15 **harnessed a Newfoundland dog**: harnessing a dog to a carriage was made a criminal offense in 1839. Macaulay not infrequently brightens up an essay by an allusion to familiar current events.

84 23 **good and bad actions**: Macaulay himself develops toward Clive something of the "love that passes the love of biographers" (**2** 32). Has Macaulay any interest in Clive except that of the open-minded historian and critic? Does he convince you that Clive's good outweighed his bad actions, and that he was unfairly treated by his contemporaries?

85 8 **Knight of the Bath**: on each side of the superb Chapel of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey are thirty-six quaintly carved choir stalls, each stall being appropriated to a Knight of the Order of the Bath, an order established by George I in 1725.

85 10 **Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire**: on being invested with the office, by which he represented the king in the county or shire, he had to kiss the hand of the sovereign to show his allegiance.

85 17 **Burgoyne**: from Macaulay's description what new idea do you obtain of General Burgoyne?

86 3 **The Commons resolved**: state as simply as you can just what the House voted concerning Clive.

86 15 **previous question**: by carrying the previous question the opponents of Clive prevented the effort of his friends to sidetrack this particular resolution without a vote. In the English Parliament, when the previous question is carried the vote must be taken. When the previous question is lost, the original motion is not given further consideration.

86 33 **almost every Frenchman**: see in earlier paragraphs of the essay what Macaulay says about the achievements of Labourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally.

87 1 **the Bastille**: on the site of this old Parisian prison, torn down by the people in the French Revolution, there is now a high tower, the view from the top of which well repays one for the hard, dark climb.

87 19 **Voltaire would have produced**: what is the use of this digression?

88 33 **died by his own hand**: in the house at No. 45 Berkeley Square, referred to previously in the essay.

89 15 **From his first visit**: do you enjoy the beautiful structure of Macaulay's concluding paragraph?

90 9 **Antiochus and Tigranes**: the first was subdued by Pompey, B.C. 65; the second by Lucullus, B.C. 69. Do you consider that the fame of either Pompey or Lucullus was great?

91 4 **Trajan**: emperor of Rome, 98–117 A.D. His victories were over the Dacians and the Parthians. There are many monuments to him in Rome.

91 8 **Lord William Bentinck**: could you rephrase the last sentence so that the final impression should be not of Bentinck, governor-general of India from 1828 to 1835, but of Lord Clive, who is the subject of the essay and who should be made most prominent at the end? When the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* criticized this last sentence, Macaulay made a slight change, but persisted in giving final emphasis to his high estimation of Bentinck's services in India.

NOTES ON WARREN HASTINGS

93 1 this book: like the Clive, the Hastings essay is nominally a review of a biography. Slashing the biography in a few introductory paragraphs, Macaulay passes on to his own estimate of the worth of Hastings's career and to a vivid narrative of the striking events in which Hastings was the central figure. The biography so summarily disposed of by the essayist was the Rev. George R. Gleig's " Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings, First Governor-General of Bengal," compiled from original papers and first published in 1841 in three octavo volumes. As soon as Macaulay read the book he wrote to the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* that he considered the new Life of Hastings the worst book he ever saw (Trevelyan's " The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay," II, 92).

93 22 Christian minister: that is, Gleig.

94 3 ***Furor Biographicus:*** a Latin phrase meaning biographical passion or excitement or frenzy; about equivalent in meaning to the expression used in the fourth paragraph of " Clive."

94 19 as he was: the positiveness with which Macaulay presents his ideas seems to carry readers along unsuspectingly to believe implicitly what he says. Really the view which is given of Hastings in this essay, while in the main accepted as correct by sober and accurate historians, is so marred by inaccuracies in statement of fact and by party prejudice in interpretation of facts that the best authorities now consider Macaulay's portraiture not entirely satisfactory. In subsequent notes attention will be called to a few points on which later writers on Hastings's career disagree with Macaulay.

94 28 Lely: Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680), a native of Westphalia, went to England in the reign of Charles I and became a fashionable portrait painter. He painted the portrait of Cromwell about 1650. In the reign of Charles II he painted the beauties of the court.

95 8 great Danish sea king: Hasting, or Hastings, after ravaging the coast of France with his piratical crew, invaded England in 894 and was defeated by King Alfred the Great.

95 14 chamberlain: one of the ancestors of Hastings, that is, William, Lord Hastings, was appointed lord chamberlain of the royal household

of Edward IV. Sir Thomas More and David Hume are historians who have written about this Lord Hastings, and Shakespeare in "Richard III" uses him as one of the persons of the play (III, iv). For an account of the Wars of the Roses, in which Lord Hastings took part, and for an account of his execution, see the sixth chapter of Green's "Short History of the English People."

95 18 events scarcely paralleled in romance: that is, events in the life of Warren Hastings as related further on in the essay. Unconsciously here Macaulay gives a characterization of the kind of narrative that he is always prone to write when dealing with stirring historical events. His essays on historical themes have the flavor of romance and are as fascinating as romantic novels.

95 26 the civil war: a term applied to the internal disturbances in England from 1642 to 1660. The Cavaliers supported King Charles I. As he was beheaded his supporters necessarily suffered loss of property. **Speaker Lenthal,** of the House of Commons, presided from 1640 to 1653.

95 33 was sold: see page 214 for a reference to the reacquisition of the Daylesford estate by a Hastings. One peculiarity of a Macaulay essay is that it explains itself so often. Early in the essay a statement will be made. Then that statement will be cleared up perhaps a hundred pages later. Hence in the annotation there are bound to appear many cross references which aim to save the time of the reader in looking for points that he dimly remembers were alluded to at some earlier place in the essay.

96 1 Before this transfer: the linking effect of such transition phrases as this is interesting to notice throughout the essay. Time and again this essayist begins a paragraph with a word, a phrase, or a sentence directly taking up and carrying along the thought expressed at the end of a preceding paragraph.

96 6 tithes: a tenth part of the produce of the land or an equivalent money payment was supposed to be given to the clergy by the lord of the manor, that is, the person of high rank who held direct title to the land.

96 12 vicissitudes of fortune: the first six paragraphs are introductory. They dispose of the book which called forth the essay, and they tell of Hastings's ancestors. Then comes the phrase, "vicissitudes of fortune," which is developed in the rest of the essay.

97 5 most striking peculiarity of his character: not usually successful in estimating the hidden forces that make a man's character, Macaulay in the case of Hastings was able somehow to comprehend the personality well enough for him to characterize Hastings about as he has been

characterized by later historians. Note that Macaulay almost never forgets in a later part of his essay what he has said in an early part. He sees the end before he begins. Compare the characterization of Hastings here with that in the last sentence of the essay.

97 13 **Newington:** a London suburb.

97 16 **Westminster School:** if you pass through the cloisters of Westminster Abbey to the buildings beyond, you may perhaps some day see a troop of boys from the school come rushing by on their way to the cricket field, mortar boards on their heads and gowns flowing in the breeze.

97 19 **Cowper:** what is the purpose of the description of Cowper? Is this a digression?

98 8 **another associate:** though the description of the poet Cowper is accurate, the numerous references to Impey are not supported by recent historical research and unbiased study of the documentary evidence. For instance, see note **127** 18.

98 16 **the foundation:** a scholarship established by funds provided at the time of starting an endowed school.

98 19 **studentship at Christ Church:** scholarship at Christ Church College, Oxford, to be held two years, at about four hundred dollars a year.

98 30 **hexameters and pentameters:** in the great English public schools like Westminster much time was spent on Latin and Greek composition, that is, the writing of verse in Latin and Greek, six feet to a line and five feet to a line.

99 7 **Fort William:** the official name for Calcutta, as Fort St. George was for Madras.

99 11 **war of the succession:** the French aided certain pretenders to the government of the Carnatic when the powerful Nizam al Mulk died in 1748. Clive defeated the pretenders, as related on pages 15–24.

99 15 **ledgers and bills of lading:** note the lively, specific way of saying "purely commercial business" as opposed to diplomacy and war.

99 20 **city of London bears to Westminster:** the metropolitan district generally known as London embraces a number of boroughs, including the region where the Lord Mayor lives. This smaller region is known technically as the city of London. In the city are the Bank of London and the great commercial houses. Westminster is the part of the metropolitan district where the Houses of Parliament and St. James's Palace and Buckingham Palace are situated. The city is the trading center, and Westminster is the center of court life. So it was with Cossimbazar and Moorshedabad: the first was the "place of trade," the second the place of the court.

99 32 **Surajah Dowlah:** this viceroy or nabob of Bengal, at the age of eighteen successor to his grandfather, Aliverdy Khan, was of an ungovernable temper (see page 32, lines 16–19). Within two months after his accession he was at war with the English. In pursuit of one of his own family who had escaped from his vengeance, he led his army toward Calcutta. The English who remained in Calcutta were shut up by Surajah Dowlah's command in the Black Hole, or military jail of Fort William. For an account of Surajah Dowlah's death see page 49. Surajah Dowlah must not be confused with Sujah Dowlah, nabob of Oude (page 1, line 9).

100 6 **Black Hole:** turn back to "Clive" and read again the extraordinary description of the atrocity.

100 7 **In these events:** why is this phrase put first in the sentence? How Hastings's greatness originated in these events is explained later in the paragraph.

100 12 **prisoner at large:** in restraint, but allowed to move about freely within definite limits.

100 15 **The treason:** two confederates, namely, the minister of finance of Surajah Dowlah and a rich banker, conspired to supplant Surajah Dowlah and to put Mir Jaffier, the commander in chief of his army, in his place. Clive supported the conspirators. By the victory of Plassey, 1757, Clive was able to carry out the plans of the confederates and put Mir Jaffier on the throne in place of Surajah Dowlah.

100 21 **Soon after his arrival at Fulda:** another instance of Macaulay's method of knitting paragraphs closely together.

100 34 **member of Council:** the Company's interests in Calcutta were at that time looked after by a president and a council of merchants. The members of the council received small salaries, but were allowed to make as much as they could from private trading. It was this privilege which caused the scandalous administration told of on page 101 and related even more fully and graphically in the essay on Clive (pages 62–68). What have pages 101–102 to do with Warren Hastings?

101 12 **master caste:** equivalent to "dominant class," used later in the paragraph. Both expressions refer to the English.

102 5 **St. James's Square:** an aristocratic place of residence ever since it was first laid out in the reign of Charles II (Baedeker's "London").

102 19 **unparalleled . . . in the history of mankind:** a characteristic exaggeration.

102 21 **lamentable blemishes:** what blemishes does the author later discuss?

102 25 **Mr. Vansittart:** in the interval between the first and the second administration of Clive, the governor was Henry Vansittart (1760–1764).

102 30 **galleon:** Macaulay's vocabulary you have no doubt discovered to be rich and picturesque, but rarely eccentric. Such of his words as are not familiar to the average reader are in most instances easy to find in an unabridged dictionary. Here the interesting words "buccaneer," "galleon," and "freebooter" are particularly effective. The only real difficulty in this author's use of words is that sometimes he employs a word in a technical sense, as, for example, "living" and "resident" previously explained.

102 33 **a statesman:** in his authoritative book, "A Brief History of Indian Peoples," Sir William Hunter tells of the unsuccessful efforts of Governor Vansittart and the junior member of council, Warren Hastings, to settle the general rising against the English which took place in 1763.

103 11 **little is known:** observe other expressions along here, indicating a cautious method of making assertions: "it has been asserted," "is probable," "it is said," "as it should seem," "appears to have left." Have you formed the opinion that Macaulay is in general extremely careful not to make unwarranted statements?

103 31 **Hafiz and Ferdusi:** medieval Persian poets.

104 10 **acceded to:** what different words might have been used here, each giving a slightly different shade of meaning but all having about the same general significance?

104 18 **matter for a novel:** if you have any knack in writing fiction, try your hand at a story of Hastings's voyage on the Indiaman.

104 20 **Imhoff:** what is Macaulay's purpose in belittling this man? As a matter or fact, Imhoff was really a German officer of some standing, — the third son of Baron Christopher Imhoff, a descendant of a crusader.

104 23 **pagodas:** gold coins having a "pagoda" stamped upon them. The value was about two dollars. In the period of maladministration of Bengal the expression "to shake the pagoda tree" became popular, for the English officials took delight in changing from one nabob to another and receiving from each new nabob vast donations on his accession.

104 25 **somewhere read:** an omnivorous reader, Macaulay held tenaciously in his memory all that he read. Stephen, in "The Story of Nuncomar," says that Macaulay undoubtedly read the detail in the "Siyyar Mutaqherin," Vol. II, p. 476, translator's note, "Born at Archangel." The detail about the birthplace of the Baroness Imhoff shows the specificness, the concreteness in which Macaulay fairly revels.

105 2 **a voyage:** note the lively general narrative of a sea voyage followed by the more lively particular narrative of Hastings's voyage.

105 20 **met**: why is the verb put before the subject?

106 30 **new post**: the governor of Bengal lived at Calcutta (Fort William). Hastings had been residing at Madras (Fort St. George).

107 22 **Augustulus . . . to Odoacer**: the relation of the last Roman emperors to the German generals is explained in note **71** 34.

107 27 **cadet**: inferior officer in the military service, usually serving without a commission for the purpose of learning the art of war.

108 6 **Mr. Pitt**: William Pitt, the younger, as prime minister secured the passage in 1784 of an East India bill which established a system of dual control of India by the English government and the English East India Company. This act, somewhat amended at various times, continued in operation till 1858 (Hunter's "India").

108 9 **no materials . . . for a representative constitution**: the latest dispatches from India indicate that the Indian policy of the British government is changing and that the natives of India are to be allowed a considerably larger share in the government. In fact, an embryo constitution which admits the natives to an important share in the legislation of the country went into effect November 15, 1909.

109 14 **each of them the representative of a race and of a religion**: one was of the Persian race and the Mussulman or Mohammedan religion; the other was of the Hindoo race and the Brahmin religion.

109 20 **lower standard of Indian morality**: what is the purpose in the essayist's constant insistence on this point?

109 31 **What the Italian . . . Bengalese**: this type of sentence is a favorite of Macaulay's. He uses it again later in the paragraph: "What the horns are to the buffalo," etc. In the sentence the national pride of the author is evident from his implication that the Englishman is of stronger physique than the Italian. Note how lucidly the latter part of the sentence, "what the Bengalese is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar to other Bengalese," is explained in the rest of the paragraph and in the next paragraph.

110 12 **Ionian**: in the third satire of the Latin poet Juvenal the "Ionian" is characterized as subtle and versatile.

110 13 **Jew of the dark ages**: for instance, the imaginary Isaac of York in Scott's novel "Ivanhoe."

110 15 **the old Greek song**: according to which the beauty of women stood to them in place of shield and sword and gave them victory over arms and fire. With this explanation observe now the significance of "weapons, offensive and defensive," in the next sentence. The idea is that the Bengalese won his victories by deceit instead of by physical force.

110 32 the Bengalese . . . endure torture: the Bengalese still show firmness under pain, but during the summer of 1909 they also showed "spirit to strike blows" on several occasions. The Indian papers have printed much recently concerning the callousness and the boldness of the Bengalese terrorists in their attacks on British officials.

111 2 firmness of Mucius: in the index of almost any Roman history reference can be found to the narrative of the exploit of Caius Mucius, who, a prisoner condemned to be burned to death, saved his life by thrusting his right hand into the fire and watching it burn to a crisp. For his bravery his life was spared, and he was named Scævola, "the left-handed" (Lippincott's "Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary"). Some writers consider that the interesting story about Mucius was invented to explain why he was called "left-handed."

111 3 Algernon Sydney: implicated in the Rye House Plot and beheaded in 1683.

111 8 substantiate: mention other verbs about equivalent in meaning. Is this the best word for the place?

111 22 Therefore, though the Nabob: notice the skill shown in the disposition of the phrases in this sentence.

112 34 compose: what is the meaning of the word as used here?

114 10 Munny Begum: widow of Mir Jaffier. "Begum" means princess; "munny," mother.

114 15 inoffensive child: for the sake of a balanced structure the essayist distorts the facts. Goordas was really of age.

115 4 his malevolence and his cupidity: on page 111, line 30, the cupidity and the malice of Nuncomar were mentioned. Note Macaulay's method of announcing a subject, developing it by specific details, and then clinching it at the end before passing on to the development of a new idea.

115 15 desperate and deadly struggle: another instance of the method of a novelist in hinting about future events. Suggesting that one group of characters will be heard of later, a novelist will often leave the group for a time to bring up to the same point the narrative of the actions of another group. You will observe that Macaulay's method here is something like this. What are the merits of the plan?

115 22 predatory families of Teviotdale: the Cranstouns were a powerful family in the raids on the Scottish border. In his "Lay of the Last Minstrel" Scott relates the romantic adventures of Henry of Cranstoun.

117 7 pay no more tribute: the Mogul emperor, Shah Alam, had become subservient to the strong Mahratta race, enemies of the English

in northwestern India. Payment of tribute to him was therefore equivalent to payment to enemies of the British, and Hastings decided to save money by stopping the payments of tribute to the Mogul.

117 11 **determined to sell them**: as the terms which Hastings made with the purchaser of the districts of Corah and Allahabad (which were some five hundred miles northwest of Calcutta) brought censure later upon Hastings, it is well to explain just what the terms of the sale were. The purchaser, Macaulay tells clearly enough, was **Sujah Dowlah** (line 25), prince or nabob vizier of the province of Oude. This prince wished to obtain the districts of Corah and Allahabad because they were adjacent to his own territory. Also adjacent to his boundaries was the province of Rohilcund, occupied by the courageous and prosperous Rohillas (see **12** 13). The lands of these people, who had been living in the Rohilcund valley for thirty-five years, were coveted by Sujah Dowlah. The bargain which Hastings made with Sujah Dowlah was, that in return for the districts of Corah and Allahabad the Company was to receive over half a million pounds sterling and the Company was to lend Sujah Dowlah a force to help to subdue the Rohillas. It is this transaction which Macaulay so energetically condemns in pages 117–123. The matter is put in a somewhat different light, much more favorable to Hastings, in Hunter's "India":

"On the partition of the Gangetic valley in 1765, Clive had allotted the provinces of Allahabad and Corah to the Emperor Shah Alam. The emperor, now in the hands of the Mahrattas, made them over to his new masters. Warren Hastings held that by so doing his majesty had forfeited his title to these provinces. Hastings accordingly resold them to the vizier of Oude. By this measure he freed the Company from a military charge of nearly half a million sterling, and obtained a price of over half a million for the Company. The terms of sale included the loan of British troops to subdue the Rohilla Afghans, who had seized and for some time kept hold of a tract on the northwestern frontier of Oude. The Rohillas were Mohammedans and foreigners; they had cruelly lorded it over the Hindu peasantry; and they were now intriguing with the Mahrattas, the most dangerous foes of the English. The vizier of Oude, supported by the British troops lent to him by Hastings, completely defeated the Rohillas. He compelled most of their fighting men to seek new homes on the other side of the Ganges River, in a neighboring and equally fertile district, but one in which they could no longer open the northern frontier of Oude to the Mahrattas."

117 14 **twenty years ago**: in 1819 the prince of Oude took the title of Shah or king. A prince of Oude would not have dared to take the

title in Hastings's time, for then all the Mohammedans acknowledged the headship of the Great Mogul; no matter how powerful a prince might really be, and no matter how little he yielded to the authority of the nominal emperor, still he did feel it a religious duty to acknowledge the Mogul as his chief.

118 15 **the setting sun:** that is, the west. The last two sentences of this paragraph are a fine example of picturesqueness of style. Instead of making bare and unadorned statements, the essayist uses specific and vivid terms. Study the two sentences with this in mind, looking especially at "rich and flexible Sanskrit," "Hyphasis and Hystaspes," "children of the soil," "cross of Saint George." Then write a sober paraphrase of the sentences.

118 16 **Ghizni:** in 1839 the English took the fortress of Ghizni which was away up near Cabul in Afghanistan, and so, as Macaulay says, turned the tide of conquest back toward the west, whereas before this the course of conquest had always been from the Afghan territory toward India.

118 34 **from Lahore to Cape Comorin:** why is this a more interesting expression than its equivalent, "all India," would have been?

119 31 **unconquerable British courage:** find other illustrations of Macaulay's characteristic patriotism.

120 10 **Reverend Mr. Gleig:** one of the few allusions by the essayist to the author of the book that he was nominally reviewing.

120 21 **to fight the Americans:** does it seem refreshing to you to recognize at once one of the countless historical parallels found in the essay?

121 6 ***caput lupinum:*** Latin, meaning 'wolf's head.' The whole sentence means, Was it becoming for the English, who were themselves foreign settlers, to maintain that a foreign settler who founds an empire in India is a menace that might very properly be cut off? What kind of argument does Macaulay employ along here?

121 9 **atrocity of the crime:** note Macaulay's positive, stinging method of expression.

121 14 **offered a large ransom:** in the historical research made to get all the facts of the Rohilla campaign, no record has been discovered of the offer of any payment by the Rohilla leader for the breaking off of hostilities.

121 19 **dastardly:** as an exercise for increasing your vocabulary, gather together the condemnatory adjectives used in pages 119–122. As a matter of fact, the forces of Sujah Dowlah fought bravely and the vizier himself was no coward.

122 23 **to take order:** 'to make sure,' 'to take precautions.'

122 24 **arguing a point so clear**: what do you find to be the merits and defects of Macaulay's argumentative passages?

123 2 **at the cold steel**: of the methods of fighting employed in warfare, which one is referred to here?

124 3 **the first Governor-General**: Hastings's administration is discussed in pages 124–183. This would be one of the main divisions in a topical outline of the essay. What would be the more important subdivisions under this large heading?

124 19 **"Letters of Junius"**: what was the author's purpose in devoting any space at all to trying to prove that Francis was Junius? The letters were published in the *Public Advertiser*, beginning January 21, 1769. They were on current political abuses and were addressed to prominent public men. Besides Francis, other persons to whom at one time or another the authorship of the letters has been attributed are William Burke, William Gerard Hamilton, John Wilkes, Sergeant Adair, Rev. J. Rosenhagen, John Roberts, Charles Lloyd, Samuel Dyer, General Lee, the Duke of Portland, Hugh Boyd, Lord George Sackville, and Earl Temple. Though he always denied the authorship, Sir Philip Francis is now generally believed to have written the letters signed by the pen name, Junius.

125 27 **Corneille's tragedies**: by reference to a biographical dictionary explain the literary allusions of this sentence. What is their use in the essay?

126 7 **Woodfall**: the printer of the Junius letters.

126 13 **"Doest . . . angry"**: from Jonah iv. 9.

126 24 **Old Sarum**: Macaulay's strictures on the letters of Junius, which supported the old, faulty representation, seem natural when one remembers the part Macaulay took in the session of Parliament that amended the representation. Old Sarum was a little Wiltshire village, which, although completely decayed, returned two members to Parliament until 1832, when the Reform Bill was passed.

127 2 **over to the ministerial benches**: the seating of members in the House of Commons is still the same. The members supporting the party in power sit in the ministerial benches on the right side of the Speaker; the members of the opposition are seated on the left side.

127 18 **Sir Elijah Impey**: Macaulay's sweeping condemnation of the part Chief Justice Impey played in Indian affairs is not borne out by the findings of reputable later historians who have painstakingly examined the facts in the case. Impey faithfully coöperated with Hastings in the long quarrel with Francis, but cannot justly be called a tool of Hastings, for all of Impey's acts were directed by a high public spirit

rather than by a base desire merely to serve a friend by perverting facts in a process of law.

127 28 **twenty-one guns:** the number of shots to be fired as a salute to officials is regulated precisely. At the present time the matter has to be attended to with the greatest care when war vessels visit a friendly port or when one sovereign visits another. A salute of twenty-one guns is given to a sovereign or a member of his family or to the president or other head of a government. A salute of seventeen guns is given to a governor-general or a governor.

127 31 **that long quarrel:** what were the incidents of the quarrel ending in the breakdown and the death of Clavering? What were the further incidents ending in the return of Francis to England? What were the still further incidents ending in the acquittal of Hastings? The sentence on page 127, lines 31–34, serves as a topic sentence for the rest of the essay. Where does the narrative of the events of the quarrel in India end? Where is the ending of the narrative of the events of the quarrel in England?

129 24 **Oateses, and Bedloes, and Dangerfields:** Titus Oates and two accomplices, Bedloe and Dangerfield, alleged in 1678 that there was a plot to kill King Charles II and destroy Protestantism in England. This alleged Popish Plot was soon found to be supported only by the perjuries of Oates and Bedloe. Here, instead of using the colorless term "perjurers," Macaulay employs the specific, vivid way of saying the same thing by naming several notorious English perjurers, Oates, Bedloe, and Dangerfield.—**Westminster Hall:** in this building many of the greatest cases in English law have been heard. Here Charles I was condemned to death and Warren Hastings acquitted. Compare **201** 23.

129 27 **Nuncomar:** in the narrative of the downfall of Nuncomar, Macaulay again writes like a novelist. Does he rouse your feelings against Nuncomar as a novelist would against the villain of a story? Compare note **186** 32.

129 29 **a grudge of seventeen years:** Nuncomar's first trouble with Hastings was in 1758.

132 21 **idiots and biographers:** another slur at Gleig, the biographer of Hastings.

132 29 **assizes:** by learning the meanings of the legal terms used along here, one might increase one's vocabulary very considerably: "assizes," "true bill," "jury," "evidence," "verdict," "statute," "forgery," "swindling," and "assassination," pages 132 and 133; "advocate," "practitioners," "barristers," "mesne process," "oath," "jurisprudence,"

"tribunal," "barrators," "bailiffs," "sponging houses," "jail," and "magistrates," pages 148–151.

134 7 **before the British empire in India**: when did the "empire" begin to exist?

134 22 **could not be put to death**: Brahmins had, however, before this been put to death by the operation of English law, even if contrary to the old national law of India. Malleson in "The Life of Warren Hastings," p. 237, says that the theory that a Brahmin could not be put to death for any crime whatever had been departed from in a thousand instances.

135 33 **a howl of sorrow and despair**: the narrative of the death of Nuncomar shows Macaulay's characteristic vividness in the use of specific and picturesque details.

136 2 **holy waters**: the waters were considered holy because the Hoogley was one of the mouths of the sacred Ganges River.

137 5 **analogous case**: gather together the analogous or parallel cases that Macaulay cites in order to make plain his statements regarding events in the lives of Hastings and Clive. What countries are referred to in these citations of parallel historical events?

137 6 **Lord Stafford**: accused by Titus Oates of complicity in the alleged Popish Plot, Lord Stafford, leader of the Roman Catholic party, was imprisoned in the Tower of London. He was impeached and beheaded in 1680, though he was in all probability innocent.

137 20 **crimes**: enumerate the crimes of Hastings condemned by Macaulay. See note **186** 32.

138 23 **"Tour to the Hebrides"**: in this book Dr. Samuel Johnson tells of a tour that he made with James Boswell to the Hebrides, islands on the west coast of Scotland. — **Jones's "Persian Grammar"**: Sir William Jones, an eminent scholar in comparative philology, published a Persian grammar in 1771.

139 21 **eastward**: the East India House was on Leadenhall Street, in the eastern part of London. The peers lived in the west of London.

140 13 **while these things were passing**: what phrase equivalent to this clause is used at the beginning of three paragraphs of the essay?

140 31 **arrived**: why is the verb placed before the subject?

143 1 **the fearful dangers**: how was the American Revolution progressing in 1778? Where else was England engaged in war or threatened with war?

143 10 **senseless misgovernment**: is Macaulay prompted by party bias to make so severe a criticism? How does this characterization compare with that in Green's "A Short History of the English People" or in any other English history that you find available for reference?

143 17 **guided the councils**: the statesman who by his strong policy guided wisely the affairs of government in the reign of George II was William Pitt, the elder.

143 24 **Straits of Calpe**: that is, Gibraltar. Calpe was the ancient name of the rock of Gibraltar, one of the pillars of Hercules. See "Century Dictionary" (proper names) for pronunciation of the word.

144 29 ***roi fainéant***: sluggish, lazy king. Ludwig V, known as *le Fainéant*, was the last of the Carolingian kings of the Franks (Ploetz's "Epitome of Ancient, Medieval, and Modern History").

145 34 **The commanding officer procrastinated**: what does the narrator gain by writing this short sentence and the three very short sentences that follow?

146 33 **Porto Novo and Pollilore**: why does Macaulay mention these specific victories instead of merely saying indefinitely, "Coote's great victories"? The victory of Porto Novo is referred to again on page 157, line 13.

148 6 **There are few Englishmen**: note the abrupt introduction of a general discussion which aims to explain the defects of English judicial procedure.

149 5 **mesne**: a law term meaning "intermediate," that is, intermediate between accusation and trial. The whole clause means that in cases not involving criminal acts but concerned rather with infringements of individuals' legal rights the first step was to arrest a defendant and take him to Calcutta for trial unless he would employ English attorneys and obtain bail.

149 9 **Quaker about an oath**: one of the practices of Quakers is to refuse to take oaths.

149 25 **blow of Wat Tyler**: in June, 1381, Wat Tyler struck dead a collector who had been sent out to collect a poll tax that had just been imposed on all persons above fifteen years of age. The provocation was that the collector acted with indecent rudeness to Wat Tyler's daughter.

150 15 **alguazils**: see **catchpoles, 151** 2. Both words mean 'bailiffs.' What is a bailiff?

150 29 **justice of the Supreme Court**: observe the strong, massed ending of this and the next two paragraphs. These three paragraphs are admirable examples of sentences arranged in forcible groups.

152 14 **Jeffreys**: the British chief justice whose judicial murders of three hundred and fifty rebels of Monmouth's Rebellion in the reign of James II have made the name of Jeffreys a byword for cruelty. He drank himself to death in 1689 in the old fortification and prison called the Tower of London.

154 7 **exposed his country**: how had Hastings exposed his country to danger?

154 19 **a Mohammedan soldier**: Hyder Ali, called later by Macaulay the most formidable enemy with whom the English conquerors of India have ever had to contend. In the second act of Goldsmith's comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer," which was first played in 1773, there is a reference to Hyder Ali. Hardcastle says that he pays no attention to politics; he does not trouble his head about "Hyder Ally." What can you learn from the essay on Clive and Hastings regarding other formidable enemies over whom the English triumphed between 1750 and 1841?

155 33 **near the gay verandas**: what was probably the author's purpose in the brilliant descriptive writing of this paragraph?

156 23 **most signal triumph**: what eulogistic adjectives does Macaulay anywhere in the essay apply to Hastings and his acts?

157 32 **Benares**: having finished the Mysore and Hyder Ali story, the essayist next takes up the Benares and Cheyte Sing story. Which of the two seems to be told the more entertainingly? Remember that the object of a narrative of fact is first to tell the truth, and second to tell it entertainingly.

160 3 **sixty years ago**: that is, sixty years before the time of publication of the essay.

160 19 **from the Himalayas to Mysore**: another way of saying from the north to the south of India. Compare "from Lahore to Cape Comorin," **118** 34.

160 20 ***de facto* . . . *de jure***: these Latin phrases are explained in the two *which*-clauses.

161 15 **this legerdemain**: comment on this expression as a summary of the thought of the preceding paragraph.

161 30 **sovereign prince**: to make a striking balanced sentence, the author distorts the facts here. Really Cheyte Sing had always been treated as a subject.

162 28 **The money was paid**: note the terse, businesslike phraseology. Not a word is wasted.

166 27 **Disappointed in his expectations**: a transition phrase passing from the Cheyte Sing and Benares story to the story of the Begums of Oude.

168 24 **Lucknow**: in which direction from Calcutta are the places mentioned on page 168,—"Chunar," "Fyzabad," and "Lucknow"? What poem do you know about Lucknow?

169 3 **pretext**: in fact Hastings needed no pretext, or pretended reason, for confiscating the lands and the treasures of the mother and the

grandmother of Asaph-ul-Dowlah. Hastings had proof that their troops were aiding Cheyte Sing in the Benares insurrection.

170 26 **ironed**: that is, kept captive in irons, as explained in line 32 of the same page, and line 23 of the next page.

172 16 **peculiar rankness of the infamy**: what other examples of sledge-hammer condemnation do you find in Macaulay's writings?

173 8 **the Revolution**: by which, after the abdication of James II, in 1688, William of Orange became king of England.

174 21 **general review**: this extends to page 182, line 9. Does any part of it seem to you at all eloquent, that is, sounding like a stirring speech?—**long administration**: mention in one-two-three order the principal acts of Hastings during his administration. What else is there in the essay besides the history of his administration as governor-general?

175 17 **educed**: if you are interested in the study of an author's words, consider the source and the effectiveness of Macaulay's vocabulary. In some particular page what proportion of his words is of Latin origin? Have you found one instance where you could suggest a better word than Macaulay has used to express his idea?

175 20 **Louis . . . Joseph**: the sentence containing these allusions means that Hastings produced order out of anarchy in a territory having as large a population as France under King Louis XVI or as Austria under Emperor Joseph.

175 32 **Robinson Crusoe**: what is the value of this familiar literary allusion?

176 13 **Downing Street and Somerset House**: on Downing Street are the residence of the prime minister and the principal political offices; in the Somerset House are various other public offices, as the Inland Revenue Office and the Audit Office. The meaning of the sentence is that Hastings in his administration had no help from official traditions or consultations; he had to think out for himself each phase of his policy.

177 24 **The English politician . . . essayist**: would it be possible to write a more perfect balanced sentence than this? What is your feeling when you come across such a sentence as this?

178 5 **His style**: what points that Macaulay names in describing the style of Hastings apply equally well to his own style?

178 21 **more virtuous ruler**: Sir William Bentinck. Compare **91** 8 and note.

179 2 **The Pundits**: learned Brahmins.

180 33 **not disposed to vindicate**: see note **186** 32.

181 26 **infallibly**: what other adverb might be used here?

181 32 **outshone the splendor**: both the palaces mentioned were famous for extravagant display, — Carlton House by the Prince of Wales who became George IV, and the Palais Royal by Philip of Orleans, regent during the minority of Louis XV.

181 33 **brought home a fortune**: approximately £120,000. His salary was £25,000 a year for thirteen years.

182 18 **roundhouse**: 'cabin.'

182 19 **sandalwood**: the fragrant carved sandalwood boxes which around-the-world travelers sometimes bring home from India have given many persons their first ideas of India.

182 28 **Sir Charles Grandison**: another literary allusion, this one being to Richardson's eighteenth-century novel, "Sir Charles Grandison," in which the hero is Sir Charles and the heroine Miss Byron.

183 6 **the low coast of Bengal**: note how much the single adjective adds to the picture that comes to your mind of the departing governor-general.

183 8 **little is known**: of what else does the essayist, on page 102, say that little is known? Macaulay says that in the voyage Hastings amused himself with his pen. One of the bits of writing done during the voyage was a "Review of the State of Bengal," published as a pamphlet in 1786 and describing the miscellaneous transactions of the last three months of Hastings's administration.

183 12 **Mr. Shore**: governor-general of India from 1793 to 1798. What other governor-general of India is highly praised by Macaulay?

183 22 **Cheltenham**: a fashionable English watering place sometimes called "Asia Minor," because so many retired Anglo-Indian civil servants live there in enjoyment of its waters (see Baedeker's "Great Britain").

184 3 **the attack**: pages 194–199 tell of the charges; pages 199–212, of the impeachment.

184 13 **the same man who had triumphed**: the rest of the sentence is a succinct statement of Hastings's triumphs as governor.

185 31 **the trunk makers and the pastry cooks**: the point is that Major Scott's pamphlets were not read but were used to line trunks or to set cakes upon.

185 34 **these volumes**: Gleig's "Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings."

186 2 **the greatest man then living**: compare "the finest gentleman of the age," **204** 27. What objections have you to Macaulay's manner of writing in superlatives?

186 13 **Mr. Fox's East India Bill**: the rejection of this bill, which was introduced by Fox in 1783 and which proposed to deprive the East

India directors and the governor of their power, led to the fall of the Shelburne ministry and made the succeeding ministry look with favor upon Hastings.

186 22 Lord Chancellor Thurlow: Edward Thurlow (1731–1806) was appointed lord high chancellor in 1778 and was raised to the peerage. He served till 1783 as lord chancellor, when he lost his office, but he was appointed again in December, 1783, by Mr. Pitt. Soon becoming an enemy of Pitt, he opposed Pitt's policies, especially in the matter of Hastings's trial, but he retained his office, through the personal favor of the king, till 1792.

186 24 Mr. Pitt: the younger William Pitt, born in 1759, entered Parliament at the age of twenty-two. He was appointed chancellor of the exchequer in 1782 and first lord of the treasury and prime minister in December, 1783. (First lord of the treasury is the position which the prime minister, according to English custom, fills in the ministry. Pitt happened also to hold the office of chancellor of the exchequer.) On the dissolution of Parliament in March, 1784, Pitt appealed to the people so successfully that a House of Commons favorable to his policies was elected. At the age of twenty-five years he thus became firmly established as prime minister. The first important act of his administration was the framing, in 1784, of a new constitution for the East India Company.

186 32 The resolution of censure: moved by Henry Dundas. It is explained in some detail on page 173 and referred to also on page 194. G. W. Hastings, in "A Vindication of Warren Hastings," published by Henry Frowde, London, 1909, holds that Hastings was wholly innocent of crimes with which he has been charged. The summarizing chapter, pages 165–187, contains brief surveys of the evidence disposing of the charges that Hastings lacked integrity in certain pecuniary dealings, that he acted criminally with regard to the Rohilla war, the trial and execution of Nuncomar, the treatment of the Nabob of Bengal and the emperor of Delhi, the wars with the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali, the affair with Cheyte Sing, and the affair with the Begums. "It is only to be regretted that Macaulay did not consult more and study carefully the records of which he speaks," says this vindicator of Hastings. This temperate refutation of Macaulay's charges is of particular value to teachers and advanced students who desire to find in small compass the answers to Macaulay's flings. Based on the State Papers, published by the Indian Government, the volume is a strong book, going farther than Strachey's and Stephen's books in vindicating Hastings. See also the sketch of Hastings in the Introduction.

187 29 **wits of Brooks's**: a club in St. James's Street, London, where the brilliant Whig politicians and literary men used to gather to enjoy lively conversation. Among the members of Brooks's were Burke, Sheridan, and Fox. The clubs and coffeehouses were an important element in the political and literary and even commercial life of the eighteenth century, supplying to some degree the place now filled by the great newspapers. Some one has called the century the century of coffee.

188 15 **But there were two men**: the sentence beginning thus is developed in pages 188–192. The author, as is his habit, pauses in his narrative long enough to introduce explanatory matter that aims to make the narrative clearer when resumed. In this case Macaulay pauses to explain the character of Francis and Burke and their reasons for opposing Hastings.

189 26 **Las Casas**: a Spanish missionary of the sixteenth century who worked to ameliorate the condition of the natives in South America and Mexico, oppressed by the Spanish conquerors. — **Clarkson**: Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846) was an English philanthropist who devoted himself to the abolition of the slave trade in the West Indies.

190 9 **bales of Indian information**: compare "bales of censure," **176** 23. Mention other words that might have been used instead of "bales." Is "bales" the best word for each of these passages?

190 19 **The burning sun**: observe the range of appeal to the senses in the two extraordinarily vivid descriptive sentences of this paragraph. Is the sense of taste neglected?

190 23 **imaum**: 'Mohammedan priest.' What effect is gained by the use of such words as this and the following: "mosque," "idols," "devotee," "turbans," "maces," "palanquin," "bazaar," "jungle," and "hyenas"?

190 27 **yellow streaks of sect**: daubs of yellow put upon their foreheads by believers in a particular creed.

190 29 **palanquin of the prince**: alliteration. See also "litter of the noble lady." What other figures of speech have you noticed?

190 33 **Beaconsfield and St. James's Street**: that is, the objects to be seen in remote India became to Burke, by study of books and documents, as familiar as the things he would see in going from his country home, Beaconsfield in Buckinghamshire, to his club, Brooks's, in St. James's Street, London.

192 10 **a great and good man**: in his Encyclopedia Britannica article on Samuel Johnson (1856), Macaulay used the same characterization for Johnson. See also **197** 26.

194 31 **calling Hastings to the House of Lords**: that is, making him a peer. What Thurlow meant was that if the chancellor of the exchequer, i.e. Pitt, feared to propose making Hastings a peer, the lord high chancellor of England (who is keeper of the "great seal"), i.e. Thurlow, might take steps towards thus honoring Hastings. At the present time it is the prime minister alone in whose hands lies the power of proposing to the sovereign what persons shall be named as peers.

196 9 **during sixty years**: previous to the impeachment of Hastings, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, was the last person impeached (1715). He was acquitted in 1717.

196 19 **With great diffidence**: does this sound like Macaulay?

198 29 **prorogation**: study a large dictionary to learn the difference between prorogation and dissolution of Parliament. The exercise of the right which belongs to the British crown, through the ministers, of terminating a session of Parliament is called prorogation. Parliament was prorogued in 1784. Compare **210** 16 for a reference to the dissolution of Parliament. When Parliament is prorogued the same members meet again after the recess; when Parliament is dissolved an election is held and the newly chosen members make the new Parliament.

199 4 **Lords below the bar**: outside the barrier of the House of Commons.

199 20 **great oration of Sheridan**: unquestionably the claim of Richard Brinsley Sheridan to lasting fame rests not on his orations, considered great by his contemporaries, but on his plays, which are still widely read and often acted; for example, "The School for Scandal," the first classic play acted at the New Theater in New York (1909), and the even more widely known "The Rivals." In Sichel's biography of Sheridan, referred to in the Introduction, there is an interesting summary of Sheridan's oration against Hastings.

199 23 **coughed and scraped down**: prevented from speaking by the coughs and the scraping of feet of opponents.

199 31 **an impeachment**: the trial of an official for misconduct in office. The process of impeachment in England is that the House of Commons prefers charges and the House of Lords hears and decides the case. What Macaulay thinks of the procedure in general is told on page 208, line 28 to page 209, line 15.

201 5 **a spectacle**: does this mean the same as "pageant," **210** 34? Macaulay is at his best in descriptions of scenes such as that in Westminster Hall when the House of Lords began to try the case against Hastings. The wonderfully vivid descriptions in Macaulay's historical essays relieve them from bareness.

201 22 **hall of William Rufus**: that is, Westminster Hall, begun in 1097 by William Rufus, son of the Conqueror. However, the hall which he started to build, and which was completed by Henry III and Edward I, was almost totally destroyed by fire in 1291, so that the Westminster Hall where Hastings was tried contained little of the original material. In remodeling and enlarging the hall, Richard II supplied it with a noble roof having beams of Irish oak. Compare **129** 24 and **206** 7.

201 33 **Garter King-at-arms**: 'chief of the heralds.'

202 27 **the greatest painter and the greatest scholar**: Joshua Reynolds and Samuel Parr, as explained in Macaulay's next two sentences.

203 3 **in secret**: the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, privately married Maria Fitzherbert in 1785.

203 4 **the Saint Cecilia**: Reynolds painted Mrs. Richard Brinsley Sheridan in the character of Saint Cecilia, the patron saint of music and musicians.

203 8 **Mrs. Montague**: widow of Edward Montague. See note on "bluestockings," **217** 29.

203 11 **Duchess of Devonshire**: another of the beautiful ladies of fashion painted by Reynolds. With a group of her friends among the ladies who were for the time interested in politics, she helped Fox in 1784 in his contest for a seat in Parliament. It is said that the fair duchess obtained votes by allowing the voters the privilege of kissing her (Lippincott's "Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary").

203 26 ***Mens aequa in arduis***: 'a mind unmoved amidst difficulties.' This Latin inscription was underneath Hastings's picture in the Government House at Calcutta.

204 8 **full dress**: apparel appropriate for a public ceremony, a dinner, or an evening entertainment or party. For men it used to consist of a black velvet coat, knee breeches, sword, and a wig, the back hair of which was inclosed in a silk bag.

204 29 **Windham**: William Windham, born in 1750, was elected to Parliament in 1783. He began his public life as a friend and follower of Burke. Serving in the cabinet of several prime ministers, he came in time to be regarded as the model of an English gentleman.

205 9 **morning sun**: meetings of Parliament begin at four o'clock in the afternoon and sometimes last till the early morning hours. Compare **193** 31.

205 11 **Charles Earl Grey**: Charles Grey, born in 1764, became Earl Grey in 1807, when his father, the first Earl Grey, died. Charles Grey entered Parliament at the age of twenty-two and soon took high rank among the Whig members of the House. Macaulay's praise is no doubt

prompted by the fact that Grey was prime minister in 1832 when the Reform Bill, which Macaulay worked for, was passed. The next year, too, this administration passed bills abolishing colonial slavery and the monopoly of the East India Company.

206 3 **Handkerchiefs . . . fit**: note the climactic effect of the clauses of this sentence.

206 11 **whose trust he has betrayed**: on page 124, line 1, it was explained that Hastings was appointed governor-general by being named as such in the Regulating Act passed by the House of Commons. He was thus in a sense a servant of the "Commons' House of Parliament."

207 27 **words unintelligible to English ears**: **lacs,** 100,000 rupees, formerly equivalent to $50,000; **crores,** $5,000,000; **zemindars,** landholders; **aumils,** managers of districts; **sunnuds,** certificates granting a title to something or other; **perwannahs,** orders of a magistrate; **jaghires,** estates in land; **nuzzurs,** presents to superiors, now termed "graft" (Standard Dictionary). Besides these strange words, what others have you noted in the essay?

208 10 **debates on the Regency**: a Regency Bill, proposed in consequence of the mental illness of George III, was debated in the House of Commons in December, 1788. The bill was abandoned on the king's recovery, February 26, 1789. On the return of the malady, the Prince of Wales was sworn in before the privy council as regent of the kingdom, February 5, 1811 (see Haydn's "Dictionary of Dates").

208 13 **thanks in St. Paul's for his recovery**: George III, who reigned from 1760 to 1820, was more or less insane for the last thirty years of his life, so that, though he returned thanks in 1789 in St. Paul's Cathedral, he had not permanently recovered from his madness. — **the States-General**: summoned by Louis XVI, May, 1789, and ushering in a new era of constitutional freedom in France.

209 7 **law Lords**: judges who have been made peers and who have thus become members of the House of Lords.

209 14 **would be unreasonable indeed**: observe the ironical tone of the essayist throughout this paragraph.

211 6 **woolsack**: the seat of the lord chancellor. It is a cushioned ottoman standing in front of the throne and almost in the center of the House of Peers.

211 11 **The great seal**: kept by the lord chancellor. Compare **194** 29–34 and **186** 22. — **Lord Loughborough**: Alexander Wedderburn (1733–1805) was a distinguished lawyer and politician of England. In 1780 he was appointed chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, with the title

of Lord Loughborough. In the beginning of Pitt's administration he was leader of the opposition in the House of Lords. When the king became deranged in 1789, Lord Loughborough advised the Prince of Wales to proclaim himself regent. Four years later, having seceded from the Whig party, Loughborough was appointed lord chancellor.

211 19 **managers' box**: mention the managers of the impeachment as named by Macaulay, and tell what he says about each.

212 31 **cuddy**: in the eighteenth century the word meant 'the small cabin of a boat.' "A New English Dictionary," however, cites this passage as an example of the use of "cuddyfull" as a noun.

213 11 **doctors**: eminently learned men, especially in theology and law.

213 19 **apotheosis**: the act of ranking among the gods; transformation into a god.

213 27 **a Pantheon**: a group of all the deities, or a building erected for the worship not of one particular god but of all the gods.

214 14 **Pasquin**: a sixteenth-century Roman tailor who enjoyed local celebrity for his jests, and whose name gave rise to the word "pasquinade," meaning *lampoon* or *satire of specific persons*. The man whom Macaulay brusquely calls "that malignant and filthy baboon" simply adopted the name Anthony Pasquin as a pen name.

214 23 **alienated**: compare "in the following generation it was sold to a merchant of London," **95** 33.

215 4 **Mr. Dundas**: for his part in the troubles of Hastings see page 194, lines 2–19.

215 24 **a red riband**: light on this allusion will be found on page 194, line 27, "decorated with the star of the Bath." The members of this order of knighthood wore a red sash as well as a star.

216 1 **Mr. Addington**: Henry Addington (1756–1844) succeeded Pitt as chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury, that is, as prime minister, in March, 1801; but remained at the head of the ministry only until May, 1804, when Pitt again became prime minister. Pitt had resigned ostensibly because the king objected to the measures which the administration proposed for the relief of the Roman Catholics.

216 27 **Covent Garden**: London fruit and flower market.

217 1 **his conservatories and his menagerie**: note that these have been described in the preceding paragraph. As is so often the case, Macaulay's transition sentence makes the paragraph connection obvious.

217 6 **Trissotin**: an allusion to a character in one of Molière's comedies. Trissotin combined the man of fashion with the man of letters, as Hastings's biographer, Mr. Gleig, assures us Hastings did. Macaulay politely ridicules this phase of Hastings's character, ending by a

comparison of Hastings the author with the insignificant poets William **Hayley** and Thomas **Seward** (line 31).

217 29 **bluestockings**: compare **203** 8. Bluestockings were ladies who showed a taste for learning. This sense of the word, according to "A New English Dictionary," originated in connection with the reunions held about 1750 at the houses of Mrs. Montague, Mrs. Vesey, and Mrs. Ord, who exerted themselves to substitute for the card playing, which then formed the chief recreation at evening parties, more intellectual modes of spending the time, including conversation on literary subjects, in which eminent men of letters, such as Burke, Johnson, and Goldsmith, often took part. Many of those who attended would not wear "full dress." One of these habitually wore gray or *blue* worsted instead of black silk *stockings*. Hence somebody derisively referred to the coterie as the "Blue Stocking Society." Then the ladies came to be called Blue Stockingers, Blue Stocking Ladies, and finally "Blue Stockings."

218 15 **rose and uncovered**: note the similar expression at the beginning of the essay, **94** 12, "uncovered and stood up to receive him."

218 29 **the Sheldonian Theater**: honorary degrees are still conferred on distinguished men in this Oxford building. Baedeker's "Great Britain" explains that the undergraduates occupy the upper gallery and express their opinions frankly as to the different recipients of degrees.

219 20 **only one cemetery**: what feature of Macaulay's style appears in the first few sentences of the next to the last paragraph of the essay?

220 25 **his noble equanimity**: in what crises of his life did Hastings show remarkable poise? In what respects does the conclusion of the essay seem to you like an oration? What opinion have you formed regarding Macaulay's powers in writing summaries?

SUBJECTS FOR ORAL AND WRITTEN COMPOSITIONS

GENERAL

1. In looking through the Notes what do you observe regarding the nature of Macaulay's allusions? Do you find any comparisons drawn from the outdoor world or from scientific discovery?

2. Should Englishmen take pride in the careers of both Clive and Hastings?

3. Compare Clive and Hastings with regard to their personal appearance and talents.

4. Which parts of the two essays do you most enjoy reading aloud? Give your reasons.

5. What are your reasons for disliking to read aloud some parts of the essays?

6. Tell what you know about the following topics and persons: The Black Hole, East India Company, Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, Nuncomar, Impey, Hyder Ali, Sujah Dowlah, Francis, the Pitts, Moguls, the Junius Letters, the British in India.

7. Which essay holds your interest more absorbingly, Clive or Hastings? Why?

8. Compare Macaulay's vocabulary, sentences, and paragraphs with your own in the longest piece of writing that you have ever done.

9. Digressions in the essays.

10. Contemporary essayists, novelists, and poets in England and America at the height of their powers about 1850.

11. What was happening in America during the time of Clive and Hastings?

12. With page and line references for each heading and subheading, write a topical outline for each essay. In selecting the main headings consider the suggestions in this regard made here and there in the Notes.

13. Do you admire Macaulay's manner of writing? What seem to you its merits and defects?

14. Gather together all the rhetorical references of the Notes, arrange them according to some systematic scheme, and then prepare to talk for five minutes on the vocabulary, sentence formation, paragraph construction, structural form, figures of speech, clearness, coherence, force, elegance, rhythm, or other qualities of Macaulay's style. Give examples freely.

15. Describe a native of India whom you have seen.

16. From your childhood reading or elementary-school study what do you remember about India, — its climate, products, people, religions, cities, mountains, rivers, or government?

17. What further information on any of these subjects have you gained from Macaulay?

18. What have you learned recently from returned missionaries or travelers or from newspaper dispatches regarding the present condition of India?

19. Which do you find better reading, Macaulay's Indian essays or Kipling's Indian stories? Give your reasons.

20. What novels have you read dealing with life in India, and how did you like them?

21. In contents and method of expression compare the essays by Macaulay with any other sixteenth-, seventeenth-, eighteenth-, or nineteenth-century essays that you have read.

22. Reference books available for the life of Macaulay, Clive, and Hastings, for the history of the British in India, and for biographical and geographical allusions in the essays. [Consult librarian and card catalogue in the nearest public library.]

CLIVE

1. Clive's three periods of residence in India.

2. Indian history with which Clive was directly and indirectly concerned.

3. Describe the appearance of Clive.

4. It has been said that at the age of thirty-two Clive established British power in India. If this is true, how did he do it? If untrue, what would be an accurate statement of Clive's work?

5. Give a detailed account of the military career of Clive. How much space, proportionally, does Macaulay give to this part of Clive's life?

6. Was Clive both a great and a good man?

7. In two paragraphs give an account of Clive's life, one paragraph being devoted to what he did in England and the other to what he did in India.

8. Clive as a statesman.

9. Life in India as you have always imagined it.

10. With a setting in Calcutta at the summer solstice of 1756, write an imaginary narrative of the acts of some native of India.

11. Put into one or more four-line ballad stanzas what you imagine may have been exciting events of the battle of Plassey.

12. Using your imagination, write a translation of an "urgent letter" such as might have been sent from Chinsurah, "exhorting the government of Batavia to fit out an expedition which might balance the power of the English in Bengal" (see page 56).

13. Prove if you can that Clive was unfairly treated by the English people.

14. Did Clive send to England any messages by cable?

15. The route from London to Calcutta in the eighteenth century.

16. Has the reading of this essay given you a taste for other essays by Macaulay, or a distaste for all his writings?

HASTINGS

1. What points in this essay are explained by reference to the essay on Clive?

2. How is the most striking characteristic of Hastings shown in the various periods of his life?

3. Contrast the lives of Hastings and Cowper, and Hastings and Macaulay.

4. This essay compared in interest with any novel that you consider particularly entertaining.

5. Hastings's relations with Nuncomar and Cheyte Sing.

6. Write a topical outline for a story of Hastings's administration as governor-general.

7. Was Hastings either a great or a good man?

8. Compare Nuncomar and Omichund.

9. What have you learned regarding the political administrations in England from about 1770 to 1804?

10. The national character of the Bengalese as described by Macaulay.

11. The things you like best and will probably remember longest in this essay.

12. Hastings in England.

13. What do the words "civil service" mean to you?

14. Life in India as described in the Hastings essay.

15. Where does Macaulay's introduction to his essay end? Where does his conclusion begin?

16. Write an imaginary dialogue between Hastings and Nuncomar, Hastings and Francis, or Francis and Burke. [Consider at what place and time you will have the men meet for their talk.]

17. Give arguments to show that Hastings's acquittal was just.

18. What misinformation does the author give in the essay on Hastings?

19*a*. Which of the editor's notes are historical, which are rhetorical, and which are linguistic?

19*b*. Which of the notes cannot be classed under any of these headings?

20. Why is this essay literature?

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